

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JUNE, 1826.

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Art. I. 1. *The Mission to Siam, and Hué, the Capital of Cochin China, in the Years 1821—2.* From the Journal of the late George Finlayson, Esq. Assistant Surgeon of H. M. 8th Light Dragoons, Surgeon and Naturalist to the Mission. With a Memoir of the Author, by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S. 8vo. pp. xxxii. 428. Price 15s. London. 1826.

2. *Some Considerations on the Policy of the Government of India, more especially in Reference to the Invasion of Burmah.* By Lieut-Col. M. Stewart, F.R.S.E. &c. 8vo. pp. 98. Edinburgh. 1826.

3. *An Account of the American Baptist Mission to the Burman Empire: in a Series of Letters, addressed to a Gentleman in London.* By Ann H. Judson. 8vo. pp. 334. London.

**A**S part of the ancient dominions of Siam are, by the recent treaty with the humbled Birmans, definitively annexed to the British empire, it is high time that we should know a little more about our fellow-subjects and neighbours on the other side of the Ganges. Mr. Finlayson's volume appears at a very seasonable moment; and although that portion of it which relates to Siam does not materially add to the information of which we were in previous possession, it will be found highly amusing and interesting. It affords occasion for sincere regret, that the amiable Author did not survive to reap the credit and benefit of his labours.

Siam, as our readers cannot require to be informed, occupies the great central valley of that immense region lying between the Gulf of Bengal and the Chinese Sea, which geographers have been accustomed to call Exterior or Ultra-Gangetic India, but which may with more propriety be styled, Indo-China. Exclusive of the Malayan peninsula, this vast territory, extending over more than sixteen parallels of latitude and eighteen degrees of longitude, was, till of late, chiefly divided between three great powers,—the Birman empire, the kingdom of Siam,

and the empire of Cochin China or Anam. Besides these, there are understood to be some petty kingdoms and independent mountain tribes in the interior; but these three shared between them the whole of the maritime region, and may be considered as the only grand political divisions of the country. The Birman empire, consisting originally of the Ava of our old geographers, had swallowed up Pegu, part of Siam, the whole of Arracan, and was extending itself over the valley of the Burrampooter; it had, in fact, become our close neighbour and a very haughty and troublesome one. Whatever may be thought of the policy or necessity of the late war, it is quite clear that it originated in unprovoked aggression on the part of the Birmans. As far back as 1818, it appears that their monarch had lent himself to the formidable Mahratta confederacy, which had for its object to subvert our Indian empire. The promptitude with which that danger was met and averted, and the war successfully terminated, alone prevented a tremendous inroad on our eastern frontier. In 1822, under pretence of reclaiming some Assamese emigrants, a considerable Birman force crossed the line of the British territory; but they were soon compelled to retire, and the matter was for the time amicably arranged. In September of the following year, however, a body of their troops took forcible possession of the island of Shapuree, in the river Naaf, while another body advanced into Cachar, then under British protection, and, when opposed by British detachments, disputed the ground with a bravery and obstinacy hitherto unknown in any of the native troops which our Indian armies have had to contend with. At one time, entering the British province of Chittagong, they had advanced so far as to excite the highest alarm at the capital of the Bengal Presidency, having surrounded and routed the detachment sent to oppose their progress. And not in this quarter only, but in the Southern provinces, and throughout the border of this extensive dominion, the Birmans had provided formidable means both of defence and of aggression, and every where fought with the most determined bravery.

An opinion has extensively prevailed in this country, that hostilities might have been prevented by negotiation. We confess that, looking at the case with all the light we at present possess, we cannot see the reasonableness of such an opinion. Lovers of peace as we are, and warmly as we should be disposed to deprecate any warlike projects that had for their object the further extension of our overgrown empire in the East, we cannot for a moment imagine that any alternative was left but an appeal to the sword. The Birmans are a restless military people; and ever since the days of Alom-praw, the founder of

the reigning dynasty, their monarchs have steadily and unintermittingly pursued a system of aggressive warfare and encroachment. For the past seventy years, they have been engaged in almost perpetual wars with Siam; but it is only within the past five or six years that they have been pushing their frontier into Assam and Cassay, so as immediately to border on the British territory. Their plans of aggression in the late war had evidently been long matured; and as they had nothing to require or to gain by negotiation, it is not very likely that they would have been induced by it to retract or concede, or that pacific overtures would have been viewed in any other light than as a confession or demonstration of fear and weakness. The obstinate pertinacity with which the war has been maintained by the Court of Ava, convinces us that that haughty power would have accepted of peace in no other attitude than that of a defeated and humbled foe. The Birmanians are a fine and, in many respects, an interesting people; far more so than the degraded Hindoos; but their government is a ruthless despotism. Their wars have been wars of extermination, and of the spirit of their laws, it will be sufficient to give one practical illustration. Desertion or misconduct on the part of a conscript, invariably proves the destruction of all his family, who are put into a straw hut, and burned alive! 'There is, perhaps, no country in the world,' remarks the Rev. G. H. Hough, (one of the American missionaries long resident at Rangoon,) 'in which the sway of despotism has been less controlled by any correct feeling or sentiment, or which exhibits a stronger specimen of its injurious effects upon the physical and moral powers of mankind, than the Birman dominions. . . . The petty acts of tyranny practised by the subordinate civil officers, are a terror to the public, and create between man and man that jealousy and suspicion which destroy confidence, and annihilate the best feelings of humanity.\* The most respectable part of the standing army, if such it may be called, consists of the marines who man the war-boats; and these, Colonel Francklin says, 'live chiefly by rapine, and are in a constant state of hostility against the rest of the people, which makes them audacious and prompt to execute any orders, however cruel or violent.' 'A Birman,' he adds 'is seldom any thing else than a government servant, a soldier, boatman, husbandman, or labourer.† Yet, could their public character be formed in a different mould from that in which their system of government has cast it,' Mr. Hough admits that 'they would be by no means

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\* *Friend of India*, No. xii.† *Asiat. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 8.

'destitute of those elementary principles which combine to form the happiness of civilised society.' Indeed, it is impossible to rise from the perusal of Mrs. Judson's Letters, without conceiving a high esteem for many of the individuals to whom they introduce us, or without very favourable impressions respecting some features of the national character. Even the personal character of the monarch does not seem to be unamiable. But history supplies abundant proofs that this affords no security against the abuse of power under a system of military despotism. The late Emperor of France was certainly, in domestic life, an amiable and even a humane man. And so was our Charles the Second.

The Birman empire, like that of Napoleon, was a heterogeneous aggregate of provinces and kingdoms, held together by no common tie but that of conquest. The Peguans were never reconciled to the yoke. The peaceful Carayns, an agricultural tribe, have never mixed with their masters. The Siamese cherish an inextinguishable hatred to the Birmans, from whom they differ as widely as the Dutch do from the French. The Arracanese or Mughs, the Cassayers, and the Assamese of the other conquered districts, whatever affinity they may bear to the Birmans in filiation or language, are still equally distinct, and can regard the Birmans in no other light than as enemies and oppressors. The dismemberment of the empire which has been effected by the late treaty of peace, only reduces the Birmans to their original and natural limits, leaving them in possession of the whole course and *delta* of the Irrawaddy or Ava river, but excluding them from the valley of the Burrampooter, from Cachar and Arracan, from the Zeet-taung river, and the eastern coast of the Gulf of Martaban.

Lient. Col. Stewart, in his pamphlet, published before intelligence had been received of the successful termination of the contest, deprecated such a dismemberment of the empire, as tending to weaken the British frontier, by destroying an efficient government as the neighbouring power, and one capable of being made responsible for the acts of its subjects,—as rendering necessary an extension of the system of *residencies*,—and as obstructing the improvement of society, which can be promoted only in large communities. This last objection appears to us the most unreasonable of the three. The consolidation of small independent states into large communities by conquest, so far from advancing the improvement of society, has almost uniformly been attended by a frightful depopulation, and by a positive deterioration in the condition and character of the people. Spain under the Emperor Charles the Fifth,

Portugal under Philip II., Ireland under the Plantagenets, (to come no lower,) Greece and Asia Minor under the Turkish empire, the Crimea under the Czars, Arracan under the Bir-  
mans, are all cases in point, illustrating in the most striking manner, the reverse of Col. Stewart's most paradoxical asser-  
tion. But he must have been thinking only of our Indian empire, which certainly has been an infinite benefit to the subjects of those various petty despotisms which it has dis-  
placed;—although even in this instance, he seems to think that the extension of territory and consolidation of empire have been carried too far, for he charges the British Government with obstructing in India the improvement of society. 'We  
'have given them,' he says, 'tranquillity; but it is the tran-  
'quillity of stagnation, agitated by no living spring, unruffled  
'by any salutary breeze, and prone to corrupt into every vice,  
'or to ferment into every baneful and pernicious excess.' But unless this gentleman is of opinion that the Birman Govern-  
ment is of a more wise and beneficent character than the Bri-  
tish, and better adapted to promote the improvement of so-  
ciety, we cannot understand how he can consistently object to the contraction of its territory, or rather, the emancipation of those territories into which it had obtruded.

That the late arrangements will not tend to weaken the British frontier, will be evident to any person who has a com-  
petent acquaintance with the nature of the country. On the side of Sylhet and Chittagong, we were decidedly vulnerable. The acquisition of Arracan, besides providing us with a most important line of coast, completing in fact our possession of the whole Bay of Bengal, gives us, instead of an open frontier, a natural barrier towards the east, formed of almost inaccessible mountains. Throughout this chain, which runs in a direc-  
tion parallel with the coast from Assam to Cape Negrais, there are only two openings, so far as known, which admit of the passage of an army; and of these, one only is practicable the greater part of the year. On the other side of this frontier, we shall still have the Birman for our neighbours. In placing Assam and Cassay under native princes, with residents at Rungpore, Cospoor, and Munnipore, we certainly cannot be considered as having either weakened our frontier, or placed ourselves in contact with a less efficient government than that of the Birman *chobwas* who previously held possession of them. After all, politicians are divided with respect to the expediency of having a *very* efficient government as the neigh-  
bouring power; and it has been thought, that Turkey, on ac-  
count of the very weakness and non-efficiency of its govern-  
ment, was the most desirable border country that Christendom could have.

The cession of the provinces of Mergni, Tavoy, and Yea to the British, together with the proposed establishment of a resident at Zeet-taung, brings us in immediate contact with the Siamese nation, who are expressly included in the treaty of peace. An immense chain of mountains, the spine of the whole region, stretching down through the isthmus and peninsula to the Singapore strait, separates the newly acquired territory in this quarter from the great valley of the Siamese Nile. We could not, apparently, have more inoffensive neighbours. The present race of Siamese are a semi-aquatic people, more fond, however, of their river than of the ocean;—diminutive in stature, their average height being not more than five feet three inches;—of a squat shape, inclining to obesity;—in their general character, mild, patient, good-humoured. A very large proportion of the population of Siam (some accounts make it one third,—others nearly one half) consists of Chinese emigrants, or the descendants of those who were encouraged to settle in this country by King Pe-ya-tac, (himself the son of a Chinese,) about fifty years ago, after the country had been almost depopulated by a Birman invasion, followed by a year of famine. The original race of Siamese, the *Tai-yai*, or Great Tays, as they are called, are now to be found only in the northern and interior provinces, or in the unexplored countries between the Siam and Cambodia rivers. Siam is in fact scarcely an Indo-Chinese country; so decidedly does the Chinese character predominate, in combination with the Malay. Mr. Finlayson says:

‘The skin of the Siamese is of a lighter colour than in the generality of Asiatics to the west of the Ganges, by far the greater number being of a yellow complexion; a colour which, in the higher ranks, and particularly among women and children, they take pleasure in heightening by the use of a bright yellow wash or cosmetic, so that their bodies are often rendered of a golden colour. The texture of the skin is remarkably smooth, soft, and shining.’

A Chinese complexion, it seems, together with *black teeth*, is, in Siam, as well as in Birmah, the perfection of beauty. White teeth, they say, are fit only for dogs. This fondness for a golden complexion is not peculiar to the Indo-Chinese. Van Egmont tells us, that the Greek ladies at Smyrna, on high occasions, used to *gild* their faces, which was considered as rendering them irresistibly charming. Yellow is, moreover, a sacred colour among all the worshippers of Buddha. The priests are distinguished by their yellow garments, the yellow lotos is sacred to Buddha, and the precious yellow metal is the type of all grandeur and excellence.

The language of Siam is considered by Dr. Leyden as an original one. It is, he says, 'more purely monosyllabic than the languages of Birmah, Arracan, and Pegu, and is certainly connected in some degree with the Chinese dialects; especially the mandarin or court language, with which its numerals, as well as some other terms, coincide.' In its construction, its intonations, and its modes of expression, it coincides much more closely with the Chinese dialects, than with those of Birmah; and the words which it has borrowed from the Pali or Magadha, (the sacred language of the votaries of Buddha,) are much more contracted and disguised than in the other vernacular idioms\*. The Siamese calendar differs little from that of the Chinese. Mr. Finlayson says indeed, that it is very doubtful if they could construct one without the assistance of a Chinese calendar, which they procure regularly from Peking. Their era, answering to A.D. 638, also appears to be derived from China. What event it dates from, is unknown; but it is remarkable, that it corresponds very nearly to the accession of the first emperor of the Tang dynasty, the successor of the sovereign under whom China was first united in one empire. The comparatively modern date to which this era ascends, makes strongly against any pretensions of the present race of Siamese to an original literature. The history of their kings does not, indeed, go further back than A.D. 756. Their religion, which is that of Buddha, whom they worship under the name of Sommono-Kodam (the holy Kodam, the Godama or Gaudama of the Birmans and Cingalese), is believed by the priests to have had its origin in Ceylon; but there is no room to doubt that they received it by way of China, into which it was introduced towards the close of the first century. Mr. Finlayson states that the founder of their religion is also known under the name of Pra-Phut, which he interprets 'the high lord.' Phut or Phoodh is no other word than the Chinese Fuh or Fohi, the Japanese Buth, and the Pali Boodh; and Pra is a titular prefix, signifying lord. It is used in Birmah as a regal title, (as Alom-praw, Minderajee-praw,)&† and is also applied to their sacred edifices; as, in India, the divine titles of *Deo*, *Paal* or *Baal*, &c. are used as appellatives of a dynasty. Col. Symes conjectures with great plausibility, that Pra or Phra is no other word than the Egyptian Pharoah or Phrah, which, Josephus tell us, signified king, and which occurs in composition in the name of Potipherah, prince of On.

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\* Asiat. Res. Vol. X. p. 244.

† In Siamese, the word for lord is Chaw, the same, probably, as the Persian Shah.

And since the Malay has been ascertained to bear so close an affinity to the Coptic, such a coincidence cannot be regarded as at all extraordinary. The prayers recited by the priests on the occasion of funerals and other solemnities, are in the Pali language; but this is every where the sacred language of Buddhism, as the Latin and the Arabic are respectively of the Romish and Mohammedan communions. And no other proof seems requisite, that Ceylon itself derived the superstition of which it has become the asylum and depository, from Magadha, the birth-place of Gaudama Buddha. But these are deep matters. We must proceed to notice the Mission of Mr. Crawford.

This abortive attempt to establish a beneficial commercial intercourse with Siam and Cochin China, is said to have originated with Mr. Crawford himself, who is represented as having prevailed upon the Marquess of Hastings to send him on a mission for which he certainly appears to have been ill qualified. His whole diplomatic career was a series of blunders, for which Mr. Finlayson makes the best apology when he says :

‘ We arrived in the country ignorant of the manners of the people, and of the state of political opinion ; for even in this despotic government, the spirit of party is not unknown. That knowledge which we subsequently acquired, would doubtless have been of the first importance to the British Agent, had he possessed it on landing in Siam. The history of past negotiations is sufficient to prove that neither privileges, nor immunities, nor advantages of any kind, are to be gained from the Ultra Gangetic nations by submission, by condescension, or even by conciliation or by flattery. They despise the former as a proof of weakness ; the latter, as arguing a mean spirit.’

But, with the examples before him, of De Chaumont in Siam, and of Colonel Symes and Captain Hiram Cox in Ava, it is most marvellous that Mr. Crawford should not have been aware of this. Neither the military rank nor the diplomatic character of Colonel Symes availed to procure for him even the honour of a sight of the Golden Face, or to protect him from unequivocal marks of disrespect, till he assumed the language of firm remonstrance : he then obtained all he wished for. The Emperor was very reluctant to understand that the Governor-general of India could be any thing more than a provincial governor, with whom it would have been an infinite degradation for his Golden Majesty to correspond on terms of equality. Captain Cox, they played with ; and the poor Resident could make nothing of them. The sort of mercantile capacity in which they seem to have viewed him, evidently excited their contempt. And when we recollect with what real or affected contempt a certain Emperor of the West is stated to have

spoken of the British as a nation of shop-keepers, it cannot be deemed matter of wonderment that a military and polite nation like the Birmans should regard a Mercantile Company and the Company's Agent with the same dignified feelings.

The Chevalier Chaumont, with the address and good face characteristic of his countrymen, took high ground in his presentation to his majesty of Siam, insisting upon their keeping on their shoes, contrary to all oriental etiquette, and upon delivering the letter of his royal master into the king's own hands, instead of transmitting it through one of the officers. After making three bows to the king, he began a speech standing, but, after a few words, put on his hat and delivered the rest sitting and covered. He then rose to give the letter; but it appeared to him that the king's position was much higher than had been stipulated, or than would admit of his delivering the letter without stretching his person in a manner unsuitable to his dignity. He therefore formed the bold determination not to lift the letter higher than himself, to the great consternation of his friend the prime minister, who was lying prostrate. At last, the king, *laughing*, stooped and took the gold box in which the epistle was contained, and afterwards conversed for about an hour with great affability. Meantime, all the mandarins remained flat on the ground. Let us now hear Mr. Finlayson's account of the reception of the British envoy.

'The hall was lofty, wide, and well-aired, and appeared to be about sixty or eighty feet in length, and of proportionate breadth. The cieling and walls were painted with various colours, chiefly in the form of wreaths and festoons. The roof was supported by wooden pillars, ten on each side, painted spirally red and dark green. Some small and rather paltry mirrors were disposed on the walls; glass lustres and wall shades were hung in the centre; and to the middle of each pillar was attached a lantern, not much better than our stable lanterns. The floor was covered with carpets of different colours. The doors and windows were in sufficient numbers, but small and without ornament. At the further extremity of the hall, a large handsome curtain, made of cloth covered with tinsel or gold leaf, and suspended by a cord, divided the space occupied by the throne from the rest of the apartment. On each side of this curtain there were placed five or six singular ornaments, called *chatt*\*, consisting of a series of small circular tables suspended over each other, diminishing gradually so as to form a cone, and having a fringe of rich cloth of gold or tissue suspended from each tablet. A few of the presents from the Governor General, as

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\* A *chattah*, in Birman, is an umbrella; and these ornaments were, we make no doubt, intended for the same article.

bales of cloth and cut glass, were placed nearly in the middle of the room and on one side; but we neither remarked the letter from the Noble Marquis, nor did it appear that any notice whatever was taken of it on this public occasion

The curtain placed before the throne was drawn aside as we entered. The whole multitude present lay prostrate on the earth, their mouths almost touching the ground. Not a body or limb was observed to move; not an eye was directed towards us; not a whisper agitated the solemn and still air. It was the attitude, the silence, the solemnity of a multitude addressing the great God of the universe, rather than the homage of even an enslaved people. Raised about twelve feet above the floor, and about two yards behind the curtain, there was an arched niche, on which an obscure light was cast, of sufficient size to display the human body to effect in the sitting posture. In this niche was placed the throne, projecting from the wall a few feet. Here, on our entrance, the king sat immoveable as a statue, his eyes directed forwards. He resembled in every respect an image of Buddha placed upon his throne, while the solemnity of the scene and the attitude of devotion observed by the multitude, left little room to doubt that the temple had been the source from which the monarch of Siam had borrowed the display of regal pomp. He was dressed in a close jacket of gold tissue; on his left was placed what appeared to be a sceptre; but he wore neither crown nor other covering on the head; nor was the former emblem of the office of royalty displayed on the occasion. There were neither jewels, nor costly workmanship, nor precious stones, nor pearls, nor gold observable about the person of the king, his throne, or his ministers. A considerable degree of light was thrown laterally on the floor at the base of the throne, where large and elegant fans were waved by persons placed behind the curtain. This circumstance added considerable effect to the scene.

When we had passed the screen and come in sight of the throne, we pulled off our hats and bowed in the European manner, the two Moormen at the same time falling prostrate, and crawling before us on the ground towards the throne. We were desired to advance in a stooping posture.....When we had advanced a few paces, being distant from the throne more than half the length of the hall, all the ministers being a considerable way in front of us on either side, we were desired to seat ourselves on the carpet in the narrow lane or space through which we had advanced. We now performed the salutations agreed upon, after which a voice from behind the curtain in front of the throne, interrupted the silence which had hitherto prevailed, by reading in a loud tone a list of the presents which had been sent by the Governor General. The king now addressed some questions to the Agent (Mr. Crawford). He spoke in a firm, though not a loud voice. In person, he was remarkably stout, but apparently not bloated or unwieldy: he appeared to be about sixty-five years of age. The questions were repeated by the person who had read the list of presents; and from him they were conveyed in whispers by several individuals, till they reached the Moorman, who, prostrate like

the rest, whispered them to the agent to the Governor General in a tone which I could not hear, though placed immediately behind him. The answers to the throne were passed on in the same way. From the tenor of these questions, as related afterwards by Captain Dangerfield, it would appear that they were of a very general nature. While these questions were passing, betel was introduced in handsome silver vessels and gold cups. The audience having lasted about twenty minutes, the king rose from his seat, and turning round to depart, the curtain was immediately drawn in front of the throne. On this all the people raised a loud shout, and turning on their knees, performed numerous salutations, touching the earth and their forehead alternately, with both hands united.

The princes and ministers now assumed a sitting posture, by which, for the first time, we were enabled to observe their respective places. We left the hall of audience without further ceremony. A heavy shower of rain had fallen during the interview, and the roads leading to the different parts of the palace, at no time noted for cleanliness, were now converted into a dirty puddle; we therefore requested to have our shoes, but in vain, for no notice whatever was taken of our request. On leaving the door of the audience-hall, a paltry Chinese umbrella, which might be purchased in the bazar for a rupee, was given to each of us. Not knowing with what view it was presented, I was about to reject it, when I was told that it was meant as a present from the king!

It was afterwards distinctly stated to them, that the mission had been designedly received by the king as a deputation from a provincial government. The consequence was, that every person of rank carefully abstained from coming near them. To heighten their mortification, it so happened, that a Cochin-Chinese embassy arrived at Bangkok about a month after; and the manner in which it was received, was in every particular a striking contrast to that with which Mr. Crawford submitted to be treated. Instead of a sort of canoe, which was sent down to receive the British Agent, a grand array of highly ornamented royal barges, such as are described by M. Loubère, were now brought out, and the aquatic procession was most splendid and imposing. In a few days the ambassador was admitted to an interview with the king, without having gone through those forms which the British Agent had been made to believe to be indispensable, and without having previously visited the Prince or any minister. He was moreover carried to the palace by his own followers in a palanquin, preceded by a number of armed men; he got out of his vehicle at the inner gate, and walked up to the hall of audience without laying aside his shoes; his own interpreter accompanying him into the hall. The Cochin-Chinese remained at Bangkok about three weeks after this,—witnesses of the manner in which

it was deemed fitting and expedient to treat the British Agent; and then returned to their own country, to pave the way for his being received at Hué with even less consideration than had been conceded to him at Bangkok.

The Mission proceeded in the first instance to Sai-gon, the capital of the province of Don-nai, where they were treated with sufficient courtesy. On the part of the inhabitants, indeed, Mr. Finlayson says,

‘The attention, kindness, and hospitality we experienced, so far exceeded what we had hitherto observed of Asiatic nations, that we could not but fancy ourselves among a people of entirely different character. In almost every street we were invited by the more wealthy Chinese to enter their houses and partake of some refreshments. They could not have known before hand that we were to visit the place: yet some of the entertainments laid out for us, were in a style of elegance and abundance that bespoke the affluence as well as the hospitality of our hosts.’

The authorities at Saigon were not easy till they had obtained a sight and a copy of the Governor General’s letter, and examined Mr. Crawford’s credentials. In their subsequent interview with the Cochin-Chinese governor, the question was started, how the Governor-general of Bengal could address a letter to their king, seeing that it was customary for kings only to write to kings. There was surely nothing very unreasonable in this demur, as European monarchs are not accustomed to correspond, otherwise than through their ministers, with any but their good and royal cousins. From Saigon, they continued their voyage to Turon, where they found that their arrival had been for some time looked for; and here, the first inquiry put to them was, whether the letter for their king was from the king of England. A list was demanded of all the persons on board; but when barges arrived to convey them to the capital, it was peremptorily insisted upon, first, that only ten—and at last that only fifteen persons, including the crew of the ship’s long boat, should be allowed to proceed. It was evidently the object of the Government, to strip the Mission as much as possible of an imposing or even a respectable appearance, and to treat it accordingly. They had scarcely entered the quarters provided for them at Hué, when a messenger came from the Mandarin of Elephants to obtain the letter for the king, in order to its being examined previously to its being presented. Mr. Crawford delivered the letter, together with Portuguese and Chinese translations, the latter executed by the Missionaries at Serampore. The next day,

‘the clerk returned with the Chinese translation, stating, that there were certain expressions in it which rendered it unfit to be laid be-

fore the king. Mr. Crawford had, on the previous day, told him, that he would alter any expression that did not accord with the notions of propriety entertained by the court. What the objections were, I am unable to say. Mr. Crawford mentioned one which was to this effect,—that the Governor General wrote *as if he were writing to his equal*. This man and several others, together with Mr. Crawford's Chinese interpreter, were all day occupied in making the required alterations.'

On the morrow, the same personage returned with a request to have another copy of the Chinese translation, which was granted: it proved to be intended for the Mandarin of Elephants, who now sent for the Agent, requesting an interview. Mr. Crawford of course obeyed the summons. A neat boat, rowed by soldiers, conveyed them up the river; and now Mr. Finlayson had an opportunity of seeing the famous fort described in such glowing language by Lieut. White.\*

'The river is so much divided by islands of various dimensions, and so intersects the country in every way, that it is difficult to state more of its course, than its general direction, which is from west to east. In ascending the river to the Mandarin's, we soon quitted the branch which was first occupied, and turning to the right, entered a fine and wide canal, partly natural and partly artificial. This canal surrounds three sides of the capital, and at both extremities joins the great river, which lies in front of the fourth. The canal is about forty or fifty yards wide at its lowest part where we entered; it becomes narrower as you ascend, and, at the upper extremity, it is little more than eighteen or twenty yards across. It is maintained in perfect order. The sides are regularly sloped, and supported by embankments where requisite. Its depth would appear to be, in most parts, about eight feet. It affords the double advantage of an outward defence of the place,—for which it was doubtless originally intended, as it bounds the glacis throughout its course,—and of water-conveyance to the various parts of an extensive city.

'We had seen little more than the bare walls of our habitation since our arrival. The most beautiful and luxuriant scenery now burst upon our view; and we soon agreed that the banks of the river of Hué presented the most beautiful and interesting scenery of any river we had seen in Asia. Its beauties, however, are the gifts of nature, more than of art. A vast expanse of water, conveyed by a magnificent river through a fertile valley, not so wide but that the eye can compass its several parts; ridges of lofty and bold mountains in the distance; the cocoa-nut, the areca, the banana, the sugar-cane; hedges of bamboos that wave their elegant tops in the air, and rows of that beautiful plant, the hibiscus;—are the principal materials which, grouped in various forms, delight the eye. From this we must not separate the not less interesting prospect of numerous and

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\* See Eclectic Rev. vol. xxiii. p. 90.

apparently comfortable villages. In these, the most remarkable circumstance is the neatness and cleanliness of the houses of the natives, and the cheerful, contented, and lively disposition of the people. The houses of the better sort are substantial and large, covered with tiles, the walls being partly made of brick and mortar, and partly of wood. Besides, they shew considerable taste in adorning their grounds and little gardens with flowers and ornamental trees.

‘ Though we were in the immediate vicinity of a large city, few people were to be seen: these were at work in the fields, collecting weeds from the canal, or passing on the roads. We were still more surprised to find so few boats upon the river; and of junks we saw no more than three or four.....As soon as we had entered the canal, we found ourselves in front of one face of the Fort. The term fort, however, is apt to convey erroneous notions of this place: it is, in fact, a fortified city; and if the French had compared it with such places as Delhi and Agra, instead of Fort William, the comparison had been more just. The fortifications are, without question, of a most extraordinary nature, whether considered in the magnitude of extent, the boldness of design, the perseverance in execution, or the strength which they display. The Fort appears to be built with the greatest regularity and according to the principles of European fortification. It is of quadrangular form; each side appeared to us to be at least a mile and a half in length. The rampart is about thirty feet high, and cased with brick and mortar. The bastions project but little, containing from five to eight embrasures, and are placed at a great distance from each other. The walls are in excellent order. We could not distinctly see whether there was a ditch at the foot of the wall, but were told that there is. The glacis extends to the canal, and is about 200 yards in breadth. An enemy on the opposite side of the canal would, in many parts, find shelter in the brushwood and hedges, and even villages, within reach of the guns of the Fort, and thence would find the means of attacking the place with little exposure of his men. But it is not to be expected, that such places should be capable of much resistance. They may serve as a temporary defence against a sudden alarm, and against a tumultuary attack from irregular troops; but a handful of brave and enterprising men would soon possess themselves of the place. The gates are ornamented in the Chinese style, but the approaches are calculated for the purposes of defence. Within the walls is a square building, surrounded with lofty walls, and apparently very strong. This is probably the citadel. We had but a very imperfect view of it. There appeared no reason to doubt that we were brought by this circuitous route, in order that we might see the extent of the fortifications.’

Subsequently, they were permitted to see the interior.

‘ On entering the gate, we turned to the right and passed along the rampart. As much care has been bestowed on the construction of the interior as of the exterior. The place is laid out in quadrangles; the roads are wide and convenient; and a navigable canal,

which leads to the granaries and magazines, passes through the place. The town, if it may be so called, is rather paltry : the greater part of the ground appears to be laid out in ill-cultivated gardens, attached to miserable, but probably only temporary huts. The bazars have an appearance of poverty ; yet, the regularity of the streets gives an air of great neatness to the place, and the view both of the country and the town, from the rampart, is very fine. After passing for more than a mile along the rampart, we were conducted to the public granaries, consisting of a vast number of well-built, substantial store-houses. The greatest attention has been bestowed upon every thing, and the powder-magazines are erected in the midst of tanks.

‘ The palace of the king is surrounded on every side with handsome and well built rows of barracks. These were uncommonly clean and very complete in their structure, and would lose little in comparison with the best we have in England.....The citadel is a small quadrangular building, with strong and lofty walls close to the palace, not calculated to excite any peculiar interest.’

Of the palace itself, they could see nothing, except on passing one or two of the gates, so completely is it concealed by the barracks. The display of iron and brass guns of all sorts and sizes, of mortars and ammunition, was truly surprising. It was easy to perceive, Mr. Finlayson says, that the genius which had directed every thing, was French ; and that the master-mind which had created such great works, no longer presided over them.

On landing, they were conducted to the Mandarin's house by two French Mandarins, Messrs. Vannier and Chaigneaux,—the only survivors of twenty Frenchmen who, about five and thirty years ago, entered into the service of the late king. The Mandarin of Elephants was seated when the Agent entered, and did not rise, but pointed to a couch on his left, where Mr. Crawford took his seat. Business was immediately entered upon. After Mr. Crawford had received what he deemed satisfactory assurances respecting the freedom of trade allowed to all nations by the Cochin Chinese monarch, he took occasion to ask, when he might expect to have the honour of obtaining an audience with the king. Our readers will be prepared for the answer, though the Agent was not. It was to this effect ; that the business of the envoy being entirely of a commercial nature, it altogether precluded the possibility of his being admitted into the presence of the king, as it was an affair for the cognizance of his ministers. The mortified Agent submitted, that commerce was not the sole object of his mission ; for he now seems to have bethought himself, for the first time, of what ought to have been made the prominent and only ostensible business of the embassy,—if such it can be considered,—namely, to congratulate the king of Cochin China on

his accession; and he begged that the Mandarin would represent the matter to his majesty. The answer was, that he had already communicated with the king on the subject, and that such was the royal determination; that, had the Agent to the Governor-general come on other than commercial affairs, he would have been presented to the court, but that it was altogether contrary to its customs to give audience on such occasions; that had Mr. Crawford been the envoy of the king of England, or of any king, he would have been received; but that, in this case, it was as if the governor of Saigon had sent an envoy to the imperial court. It was contrary to usage and could not be done. This, however, appears not to have been quite correct, since, in 1804, a Mr. Roberts, who had been sent from Calcutta in a capacity similar to that which Mr. Crawford sustained, had been honourably received at court, and had obtained two audiences with the king. The Mandarin at first denied this; then said, that since then, customs were altered. Arguing and entreaty were, however, alike useless. The issue was, that the king 'could not think of accepting 'the presents' of the Governor-general, as the English had not yet had any commerce with the country, and could not therefore have gained any advantages; that Mr. Crawford tamely acquiesced in the insult; and that they were finally dismissed with unequivocal marks of contempt.

Mrs. Judson's volume has been so long before the public, that, though it is far from being out of date, (and, indeed, it acquires fresh interest from recent events and the present posture of affairs in the East,) yet, it will not be expected, that we should say much about its contents. We regret that we were not put in possession of a copy on its first appearance, and the volume has, we fear, obtained but a limited circulation. Our chief reason for noticing it at the present moment is, that it has been made the ground-work of a very disingenuous attack upon the Baptist Missions, in a recent Number of the *Quarterly Review*.\* A more discreditable article never disgraced the pages of a respectable journal. The only extenuation that can be offered on behalf of the Writer, must be taken from the gross want of information which he displays. It is not a little mortifying, however, to find the 'honest Catholic,' the Abbé Dubois, gravely referred to as an authority in a journal of so imposing a character, after the ample proofs which have been adduced of the Abbé's palpable dishonesty,—his self-contradiction and gross mis-

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\* *Quart. Rev.* No. lxx. p. 87, &c.

representation. The Reviewer, however, is, if not a Papist, a most papistical Protestant. The failure of the Romish missions among the Indo-Chinese nations, he thinks the more extraordinary, as, in those countries, 'the ceremonials of religion bear a most striking resemblance to those of the Church of Rome.' What must be this gentleman's notions of the religion of Christ, when he can thus feel surprise that the conversion of the heathen was not advanced by the ceremonials of the Church of Rome? But, he adds, 'we have better hope from the Church establishment in India, than from all the missions that have hitherto been sent to that quarter.' On what are these hopes founded? Do the doctrines of the Church of England differ from those taught by the Missionaries? Are its clergy more laborious, more eloquent, better acquainted with the manners of the East, than those who have hitherto borne the burden and heat of the day, and into whose labours the Church of England, with laudable though tardy zeal, is entering? No, its *ceremonials*, we presume, bear a nearer resemblance to those of the Hindoos. 'Call you this backing your friends?' This Writer must be the very musical gentleman, and none but he, who, in a former Number of the Quarterly Review, suggested as the best means of promoting the conversion of the Hindoos, 'a good organ and solemn music, to allure the natives to attend!!'

The Reviewer is 'quite satisfied,' however, that 'the followers of Calvin are little calculated any where, but least of all in the East, to make converts to Christianity.' The reason assigned is an original one; it is, in effect, *because they believe in the eighteenth of the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England*. That article, we think, it may be taken for granted that the present Bishop of Calcutta holds as firmly as do the Calvinistic missionaries. Is he then disqualified? Surely, the Church of England is not much indebted to such panegyrists.

The Reviewer's knowledge of Buddhism appears to be on a par with his theological attainments. He is particularly shocked at Mrs. Judson's appealing to one of her female scholars, whether she would wish to go to hell because her progenitors had gone there. 'There is something so *unchristianly*,' he remarks, 'so repulsive to the feelings of those whom they are striving to gain, in the use of such language, that we can scarcely imagine how a woman of Mrs. Judson's good sense and feeling can reconcile herself to it; but it is less her fault than that of the sect.' Now, as to its repulsiveness, every Birman believes in his own liability

to go to hell, or to one of the many hells provided by the doctrine of Guadama; and he has every reason to suppose that his progenitors have gone there before him. No idea could be more familiar to a Birman, therefore, than that of a place of torment. He is taught that there are eight great hells, four hot, and four cold. Those who are irascible, cruel, or quarrelsome, drunken, dishonest, or lascivious, will, after death, in the great hell *seinzi*, be torn in pieces with glowing irons, and then be exposed to intense cold: after a time, their limbs will again unite, and again be torn asunder, and this process will be continually repeated for 500 times 360,000 years. Those who, either by action or speech, ridicule their parents, or magistrates, or priests, or old men, or persons studious of the law, also, those who with nets or snares entrap fish or other animals, will be punished in the great hell *challasot*, by being laid on a bed of fire, and sawed asunder into eight or ten pieces with burning saws for twice that number of years. Those who kill oxen, swine, goats, or other animals, hunters by profession, warlike kings, ministers and governors guilty of oppression, are to be ground between four burning mountains, in the great hell *sengata*, for four times the above period. The term of punishment is doubled, with a variation in the torture, in the case of drunkards and persons guilty of abominations. Robbery, theft, guile, fraud, and bribery are visited with a fifth degree of punishment. Beyond these, there is the great hell *tapana*; the seventh, for infidels, called *matapana*; and the eighth, which is the most terrible of all, called *mahaviri*. These great hells are surrounded with various smaller ones, in the description of which the same imbecile pruriency of imagination discovers itself, that gave birth to the monkish legends and fables of the dark ages. The smaller hells are purgatories, to which all are subject, who have spoken angrily, used deceit, uttered scandal or abuse, paid little attention to the words of pious men, or admitted any forbidden thing in their words, actions, or desires.\* To ask a Birman, then, whether he would wish to go to hell because his progenitors were there, how offensive soever that word to 'ears polite,' could not, we humbly submit, be very repulsive to him.

The individual to whom this question was put, had objected to giving up a religion embraced by her parents and ancestors,—the standing plea of Papist, Jew, and heathen for all their errors and abominations in all ages. This same argument is well met in the tract entitled *Sootya Durson*, drawn up by

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\* See Asiatic Researches. Vol. VI. Art. 8.

Messrs. Yates and Eustace Carey,\* and of which we hope before long to have a Birman translation: 'Say not that it is proper to adhere to the customs and religion of your fathers. As well might it be said, that the person whose parents were born blind, ought never to use his eyes.' That there is a place of future punishment,—a wrath to come, is not, however, as this Reviewer seems to imagine, a doctrine peculiar to Calvin, but a tenet common to all religions—to the Christian, the Jewish, and the Mohammedan, the old Pagan faith, the Brahminical, and to Buddhism; it is a dictate of natural religion, enforced by that most sure witness,—remorse. What is peculiar to the religion of Jesus Christ, is, salvation from hell. This is a doctrine of which no other religion under the sun knows any thing. The language of the New Testament is: "Whosoever believeth, shall not perish." And the reason given to enforce that enlarged spirit of charity which is the element of all Missionary exertion, is, that "God will have all men to be saved *and* to come unto the knowledge of the truth." These sentiments, the Reviewer, whose creed is that of Pope's Universal Prayer, deems unchristianly and repulsive. But surely he must have forgotten the awful language of that Church of which he is a professed member: 'They also *are to be had accursed*, that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ whereby men must be saved.' With regard to 'excellent pagans' and the heathen at large, what the followers of Calvin hold, is, that 'as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without (being judged by that) law, and as many as have sinned under the law, shall be judged by the law; for there is no respect of persons with God.†

But it is not our intention to follow the Reviewer through all his objectionable statements, which is the less necessary as the article has already drawn forth a spirited vindication of the Missions which are the immediate subject of his misrepresentations‡, to which we may refer our readers. We shall only advert to one other point. The Reviewer repeats, on the authority of Dubois, the ten times refuted calumny, that the Missionaries systematically attempt to convert and connect

\* Ecl. Rev. vol. xxiv. p. 502. † Rom. ii. 11, 12.

‡ A Vindication of Christian Missions in India from a recent Attack in the Quarterly Review. By John Howard Hinton, M.A. 8vo. pp. 30. (Wightman and Cramp). 1826.

themselves with almost exclusively the very dregs of the people. The proportion of converts made from among the Brahmans, is quite large enough to disprove this ridiculous assertion, so far as India is concerned. But the literary labours of Dr. Carey and his colleagues, and the educational and other public institutions at Calcutta, in which these same Missionaries are associated both with English gentlemen and with native Hindoos and Mohammedans of the very first respectability in the Presidency, leave the retailer of the calumny without excuse. Did Swartz or Henry Martyn connect himself exclusively with the dregs of the people? And what will this Reviewer say to the proceedings of Missionaries in Taheite, in Hawaii, in Madagascar, where kings and queens and chiefs have, at their preaching, embraced the faith? And with regard to Mr. Judson, it is equally far from the truth, that he connected himself with the dregs of the people: it is very certain, that he not only had access to personages of the first consideration in Birmah, but that many among the higher orders had begun to discover a spirit of religious inquiry; among whom was the princess who had the direction of the education of the heir apparent. The brother of the reigning monarch had urged Mr. Judson's return to Ava, requesting him to bring with him *all the sacred books*. Soon after this his second visit to the capital, Mrs. Judson thus writes:

‘My old friend, the lady of the viceroy of Rangoon, came to see me as soon as she heard of my arrival, and has promised to introduce me at court on the return of the royal family.....In a day or two after our arrival, Mr. J. introduced me to Prince M. and his Princess: they treated us with the greatest kindness. The Princess took me into her inner apartments, made me a handsome present, and invited me to visit her frequently, and ordered her cart to be prepared to convey me home. Prince M. is intelligent, desirous to obtain foreign information, and has for some time been examining the Christian religion. Oh! that a merciful God would enlighten his mind, and make him a real disciple of the blessed Redeemer. I hope to gain some influence over the Princess, and induce her to read the New Testament, which is now in her own language.’\* p. 334.

\* This was in February 1824. Since then, no accounts have, we believe, been received from Dr. and Mrs. Judson; and fears are entertained that they may have been sacrificed to the Emperor's resentment against the English. A sepoy who escaped from Ava to the British head-quarters at Prome, stated, however, that all the Europeans were imprisoned and in chains, and wholly dependent on charity for subsistence, but that no executions had taken place up to the time of his leaving the capital; and that Mrs. Judson was permitted to live at her own house, and to see Dr. Judson every two or three days.

With regard to 'the humble character' assumed by these teachers of the Gospel,—the strangest reproach that perhaps ever was cast upon any Christian Missionaries by a Christian man,—we shall only remark, that inconsideration or ignorance could alone lead a person to represent that as any obstacle to the success of a mission addressed to the worshippers of Guadama Buddha, whose priests affect no higher character. In Birmah, indeed, the machinery of instruction seems already prepared in the national institutions, and the *zayats* may hereafter serve the same purpose that the Jewish synagogues did in the Apostolic age. There, the obstacles to mental and moral improvement are neither so numerous nor so formidable as those which have presented themselves in India, and which are quite sufficient to account for the slow progress which Christianity has hitherto made in that devoted country. Upon this subject, we shall avail ourselves of some very forcible remarks which occur in a paper inserted in a recent Number of the "Friend of India," printed at Serampore.

'Among the Chinese, the Burmese, the Persians, and the Arabs, all the treasures of knowledge accumulated by their literati, are indiscriminately open to the great body of the people, without any distinction of rank or birth. But in this country, the case is unhappily different. Those who reared the temple of knowledge, and consecrated it with the relics of their genius, closed its entrance against the great body of the people, admitting none to a participation of its benefits but their own, the sacerdotal class. The body of the community were restrained to the outer court, and every attempt to enter into the temple was resented with great indignation. Motives of personal and family advantage unhappily prevailed in their minds over every sentiment of patriotism. Instead of attempting to raise the nation, they provided only for raising their own class, depositing the product of their labours in a learned language, from the study of which they excluded the shoodra. Thus, to the natural disinclination of the lower orders to mental pursuits, they added the awful sanction of religion, and condemned the shoodra who might be tempted to look into those intellectual treasures from which his country derives so much glory and distinction, to bodily mutilation in this world, and indefinite torment in the next. It was revealed from heaven to the natives of India, that the gods, the guardians of the human race, were desirous that the great bulk of society should continue from age to age in a state of mental darkness. Thus, was established and fortified by whatever is awful and sacred, the most complete system of mental despotism which the ingenuity of man has devised; and for the first time since the creation, was the privilege of acquiring knowledge rendered hereditary. The great bulk of the people were thus from the moment of their birth consigned to hopeless ignorance, with but one chance of improvement, the distant hope of being born Brahmans in some future birth, and then permitted to look into the mysteries of knowledge. Every aspirant after improvement, (and nature implants

the desire without any regard to the arbitrary institutions of man,) was nipped in the bud: the barrier between knowledge and ignorance was rendered impassable.

'Hindoo society was thus divided into two distinct classes, the one monopolizing all the learning of the country, the other buried in ignorance. This state of things produced the result which might have been expected, both among the shoodras and the brahmuns. Darkness beget delusion. Reduced to a state of mental villanage, the great bulk of society plunged themselves into the most dangerous errors, and became an easy prey to the monstrous absurdities which are fostered in a state of intellectual darkness. The separation of the soul from intellect, which the Hindoo philosophers have for ages attempted to establish in theory, they practically accomplished in the case of the shoodra. By this institution, which elevated the priests to distinction on the general ruin of the mental faculties of their fellow-countrymen, they gained, it is true, power and wealth, but they lost all ardour for progressive improvement. Having declared their doctrines infallible, and threatened with future punishment all who should suspect them of being wrong, they naturally fell deeper into error themselves. The salutary check of public opinion was removed, and all hope of establishing a better system under the auspices of Hindooism, was frustrated. The age of degeneracy which they themselves had predicted, was fully realized. The country, though in possession of the Vedas and six systems of philosophy, is not at this moment a whit further advanced in the career of general improvement, than it was two thousand years ago.'

Upon the whole, we are led to think that Buddhism, which, under different names, numbers more votaries than are ranged under any other creed, presents the most hopeful portion of the vast empire of superstition. It is that system which would seem to oppose the fewest political and moral obstacles to the diffusion of pure and undefiled religion. The Quarterly Reviewer, with what precise view it is difficult to conjecture, remarks that, in the more eastern countries of Asia, very little progress was ever made by Christianity. It appears, he says, 'to have made some progress at one period on the western coast of India;' but 'scarcely a trace can be found among the Boudhists of Ava, Siam, Cochin China, China, and Japan, of a Christian teacher having ever been among them, notwithstanding the boasted conversions of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits.\*' Of *these* Christian teachers, would to God that no traces and no remembrance in those countries did exist!—The greatest obstacle to the success of a Christian mission in either Siam or Cochin China, would be that which is created by the recollection of the joint enterprise of Louis XIV. and the Jesuits, in alliance with a Greek adventurer, in

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\* In Cochin China, however, the number of Christians, according to the viceroy and the missionaries, is 70,000.

1685, to convert the Lord of the White Elephant, and lay the foundations of a Gallic-Indian empire at Bangkok,—which issued in a revolution and the expulsion of every European.

But as to the knowledge of primitive Christianity in these regions, we take the liberty of remarking, that the Quarterly Reviewer is not in possession of sufficient information to enable him to say what traces may yet exist. Nor have we any historical *data* to shew what was the population, political state, and moral condition of these countries in the ages immediately succeeding the Christian era. Their geographical distance might indeed account for their being not so speedily or so generally evangelised. The Reviewer, however, would intimate that they presented other obstacles to the progress of Christianity, though, as to the nature of these obstacles, he is silent. We can tell him of a few. Immense tracts of pestiferous forest and impervious jungle, swamps annually converted into lakes, lofty and inaccessible ridges of barren granite rock, countries habitable only on the margins of the rivers,—present immense obstacles to the propagation of Christianity; and such is the general description of the Indo-Chinese countries. Add to this, that, of the older inhabitants of these regions,—the pastoral tribes of Carayns, the mountain tribes of the interior, the Northern Siamese (*T'hay Jhay*), and the Laos, little or nothing is known;—except, indeed, that some of them are *not* worshippers of Guadama, or believers in metempsychosis. These countries, moreover, have been from time immemorial the theatre of invasions and exterminating wars, which have tended to deteriorate their moral condition; and there seems reason to believe, that both the Peguans, or Talliens, and the elder race of Siamese had attained, at one period, a higher degree of civilization than is exhibited by the modern possessors of those territories. Further, where Mohammedism did not extend its conquests, it still had a baleful effect by intercepting the light of Christianity. Thus, Captain Wilford remarks, that 'the decline of the Christian religion in India must be attributed, in a great measure, to the progress, equally rapid and astonishing, of Islamism, in Syria, Persia, Egypt and Arabia. The Christians in those countries, being in a state of distraction, no longer sent pastors to India; as we are informed in a letter written in the seventh century, and still extant.\*' We can sufficiently account, therefore, for the present religious condition of those countries, without having recourse to the

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\* See a curious and interesting essay on the Origin and Decline of the Christian Religion in India, in the tenth volume of Asiatic Researches. p. 27.

supposition, that Christianity has suffered a defeat there in former times from any powerful priesthood, or that any political or moral cause has hitherto barred the introduction and resisted the efficacy of Divine truth. The barrier of language, that which seemed the most imperiously to require a miraculous intervention similar to the Pentecostal effusion of the Spirit, is fast giving way. The Birman, which may be considered as the link between the monosyllabic and polysyllabic languages of Eastern Asia, is, to a certain extent, mastered. The Pali, the sacred language of the Budhic world, and the Portuguese, the medium of commercial intercourse, present extensive facilities for the diffusion of Christian and liberal knowledge. The prospect which is opening, might warrant hopes and feelings partaking of enthusiasm; but we check ourselves. With regard to the stupendous changes which are taking place among the kingdoms of the world,—they have a meaning and an end.

‘ God is his own interpreter,  
And he will make it plain.’

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Art. II. *Memoirs of Mr. John Chamberlain, late Missionary in India.*  
By William Yates. 8vo. pp. 476. Price 10s. 6d. 1825.

**B**IOGRAPHY must derive its main interest from one of two sources,—the character of the individual, or the circumstances in which he may have been placed; and the most popular examples of this kind of composition have been those in which the latter were favourable to the development of the former. It is this combination of character and circumstance which gives piquancy to the memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini, Vielleville, de Retz, and others of the same hardy and original cast of mind and disposition. There is, however, a class of biographical writings which, partaking more or less of these general qualities, are of still greater importance in a moral, than in an intellectual view. Whatever superiority in point of adventitious attraction may belong to the ‘*romance* of real life,’ it must always yield, in all that is truly valuable, to those illustrations of high principle which will mark every adequate exhibition of religious character; and the biographies of Janeway, the Henrys, and other worthies of the Evangelical school are fraught with statements and lessons of a far deeper interest than any that can be furnished by the great, the learned, or the restless of the world. But there have also been men whose strong natural powers were under the guidance of Christian principle, and who were thrown upon times which gave full scope to their energy, and called forth the intense exercise

of their feelings, their judgement, and their conscience. Such men as Hutchinson, Knox, Melville, and Mornay Duplessis, were placed in situations which required the full exertion of minds not only richly endowed by nature, but habitually influenced by Divine grace; and the details of their career have supplied materials for works which claim the highest place among the treasures of biography.

There is yet another description of memoirs, which may not indeed possess all the qualities of the preceding, but must still be valuable and attractive, we had almost said, in the absence of them all. The disinterested labours, the voluntary hazards and privations, the severe tests of faith and fortitude to which the Missionary exposes himself, cannot, even when set before us in the homeliest dress, fail to excite our sympathy and admiration. No other circumstances can so fully display the essential difference that prevails between the natural and the renewed man, as those which occur in the intercourse between a Christian evangelist and his Pagan auditory. If the *hostility* of the human heart be more malignantly exhibited where gospel knowledge is made a barrier against its own reception, its *ignorance* even of its own miseries, is more vividly shewn in the quiet apathy of heathen neglect. The biographies of Brainerd and Martyn are of a mixed character, and derive much of their value from the high intellectual qualities of their subjects; but there are not a few of this class, which have been read with eagerness, and are often resumed with unsated pleasure, whose claims to our approbation rest almost exclusively on the peculiar interest that is given to them by the circumstances to which we have just referred.

The general outline of Mr. Chamberlain's life must be too familiar to a large portion of our readers, to need repetition here; and the leading particulars of his exertions among the Hindoos have become so extensively known through the usual channels of missionary information, that we feel it inexpedient to devote a lengthened article to the consideration of the present volume. We have, however, read it with satisfaction, as a gratifying record of a life spent in promoting the best interests of mankind. We were especially struck with the details of Mr. C.'s *home-missionary* exertions in the 'streets and lanes' of Bristol.

'Yesterday I was much exercised about going into the city to preach to the poor people, as we were most of us at home unemployed. It was deeply impressed upon my mind that it was our duty to do something; accordingly I made known my feelings to some of my brethren; but none heartily closed in with the proposal, so that I was left to go alone. Went out of the house, not knowing whether I should go Broadmead, or into the city, to see where the poor peo-

ple were, and what their condition was. God interposed. I met with a friend, who asked me why I was at home doing nothing, while souls were perishing for lack of knowledge. Having informed him of my thoughts, he proposed to go with me; we went, and found the people ready to hear the word of God, and in some measure expecting us: found a good man, into whose house we entered; at his door, I stood and sung, prayed and preached. The people were very attentive; a good number heard. I returned with sweet satisfaction, admiring divine Providence, and rejoicing in God, and felt very sorry when I reflected how many opportunities I had lost. A few more may remain. O that God would stir me up to improve them! For what do I live? Is not my work to seek out them that are lost? Can I be idle while so much work remains! Shall my fellow sinners rush into hell by thousands every day, and I rest in ease unconcerned? Shall not their groans and complicated miseries move my compassion?" pp. 59, 60.

On another occasion, Mr. C. writes:—

\* Returned from my excursion in the city: preached to some very miserable objects: poor souls, how lamentable is their situation, how deplorable their condition! May they believe on the Lord Jesus, and have everlasting life; then in a few days or years their sorrow will be ended, their shame will be done away, they will be made honourable through the Saviour, and will be for ever happy. Wonderful are the ways of Divine Providence! Yesterday my mind was impressed with the necessity of going further into the city. Accordingly my friends, Pritchard, Saunders, and myself, went, between one and two in the afternoon, into some obscure parts of the city near the glass-houses: there we found some of the most miserable objects; we conversed with some, whom we found extremely ignorant, destitute of the word of God, and unable to read. We inquired whether they had any preaching among them; they said, No. We asked them, if there were preaching, whether they would hear; they readily answered, Yes, it was what they wished: they should be very glad to hear. A convenient place was at hand; convenient inasmuch as it afforded some shelter from the cold wind: it was a small square, called Anville Square, about the size of a large chapel, having houses full of inhabitants on three sides; so that the people had no need to come out, as, by only opening their windows, they could all hear. In these houses there are hundreds of inhabitants living in wretchedness, covered with rags and filth; some most pitiable objects, branded with infamy by their impious conduct and the effects of abominable sin. If it be fine weather next Lord's day, I intend to preach the whole day in one part of the city or another. Last evening went to a place where a considerable number had met for prayer, and preached there about forty minutes: had a very comfortable opportunity. They every where entreated us to come again: like the Macedonians, their cry was, 'Come over and help us.' May the call be obeyed; may souls be converted; may the gospel come to them, not in word only, but in power, in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance.' pp. 60, 61.

Mr. Chamberlain appears to have been a strong-minded, persevering, and conscientious man. His heart was in his work, nor did he desist from its active prosecution, until his career was arrested by death. The following illustration of one most important part of his character, is worth extracting.

‘ One of the first things that he seriously studied, after he became experimentally acquainted with the truth, was the value of time ; and having estimated its shortness by contrasting it with an eternal duration, and its importance by considering the consequences which its improvement or misimprovement would involve through a never-ending existence, he was anxious to improve every moment to some useful purpose. When employed in manual labour, he was “ not slothful in business, but fervent in spirit, serving the Lord ;” and when advanced to a higher calling, he was indefatigable in storing his mind with sound and useful knowledge. He commonly rose very early in the morning, and was never satisfied unless every day witnessed some considerable progress in his work. After reviewing a day in which he suspected himself to have been remiss in his duties, he thus exclaims : “ O diligence, whither art thou fled, and why didst thou depart ? Return and stay with me, and aid me in all I do ! The day will soon arrive when my Lord will come, and he will expect to find thee here ! O Lord, pardon my negligence, and help me to give all diligence to add to my faith, courage, and to courage, every other Christian virtue !” The rule which he established, to render to himself every evening a faithful account of what he had been doing in the day, tended very much to increase a spirit of activity. The man who resolves to be so conscientious in the improvement of his time, as to write down at the close of every day how it has been spent, will soon find plenty to do, either in furnishing materials for the evening, or in stilling the clamours of a guilty conscience, for he has been obliged to insert in his diary the memorable saying, “ *Diem perdidi.*” It was remarked of Melancthon, that when he made an engagement, he was so scrupulous about his time, as to require not only the day and hour, but even the minute of his attendance to be fixed. The manner of Mr. C.’s life, a great part of which was spent in travelling from one place to another, did not permit him to be so exact : his constant concern was rather, while he endeavoured to assign to every hour its appropriate duty, as far as circumstances would admit, to see that no one passed away without something being done for the honour of Christ and the good of souls. His constant maxim was, “ Work and live :” he found by experience, that the felicity of the soul consisted in its being fully employed in promoting the glory of God ; and therefore “ Whatsoever his hand found him to do, he did it with his might.”’

If we were disposed to find fault with any thing in Mr. Yates’s performance of his task, it would be with the extremely unnecessary parade of Latin and Greek quotations in the notes.

Art. III. *Elements of Moral Philosophy and Christian Ethics.* By Daniel Dewar, L.L.D, Minister of the Tron Church and Parish Glasgow, and late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the King's College. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1100. Price 1l. 4s. London. 1826.

WITH all its errors and defects, Archdeacon Paley's Principles of Moral Philosophy is a highly valuable and useful work. The charm which the matchless perspicuity of his style and the luminousness of his statements impart to his writings, renders what had previously been considered as the driest of all subjects, in his hands almost entertaining. His work has been pronounced the only treatise on moral philosophy fitted to be understood by every class of readers; and fifteen editions through which it passed during the Author's life-time, attest its popularity. It is, in fact, a grammar of the science: its merit is that of a summary. It displays little originality or profound thought; it is even open to the charge of being superficial, as well as, on some points, both unsatisfactory and erroneous. But it is an admirable guide to the art of thinking. Still, we should rejoice to see it superseded by a work which should combine sounder principles with equal fascinations of style.

Dr. Dewar has not aimed at this. His object has been different, and has led him to confine himself to the 'ethical department of Moral Philosophy,' including very properly those grand principles of natural religion on which all moral obligation must be founded. His work is designed more especially for students, as preparatory to their entering on the study of sacred theology, and is intended at the same time to inculcate on Christians generally, the obligation of practising the things that are true, and just, and honourable, and lovely, and of good report. Its distinguishing excellence is, its practical character and the religious instruction and admonition which the Author, throughout, appears sedulous to impart. A larger portion of theology, therefore, is blended with these lectures, than is usually comprised in Ethical treatises; but, indeed, nothing can be more arbitrary than the definitions which have been given of ethics and philosophy, or more vague than the ideas commonly attached to those terms.

Moral Philosophy is defined by Paley, 'the science which teaches men their duty and the reasons of it,'—a definition which would assuredly apply as well to Religion. This science, if we may call it such, must at least include theology, which has for its subject the most important branch, and indeed the basis of all duty. Again, moral philosophy, morality, ethics, casuistry, natural law, according to Paley, all mean the same

thing. It is certain, however, that persons using those terms, have not always meant the same thing. Moral Philosophy, properly defined, must, we conceive, comprehend four distinct branches:—1. Theology—truths relating to God, and duties founded upon them: 2.—Ethics or Morality—relating to manners and relative duties: 3. Law—civil and political duties: 4. Political Science—national and international duties. Or if it be contended, that *Moral Philosophy*, taking the word in its strict etymological sense, must relate primarily to manners, or the morality of actions, and to man viewed as in a state of society,—then it must be considered as only a division of that science, whatever name we give to it, which relates to the nature, the duties, and the hopes of Man.

Grove, in his *System of Moral Philosophy*,\* defines Ethics or Morality as ‘a science directing human actions for the attainment of happiness.’ ‘The specific objects of this science are,’ he adds, ‘the *actions* of mankind as capable of being directed by a moral rule and made subservient to the acquisition of happiness.’ And, agreeably to this definition, he commences his system by a disquisition on the nature of happiness. Archbishop Leighton opens his course of theological lectures in the same manner, with four upon happiness. Thus, what the one learned writer considers as the proper subject of ethical inquiry, the other lays at the foundation of theology. And how can the pursuit of happiness be other than a theological inquiry?

Dr Dewar divides his work into eight books. In the first, he treats of the Being, Perfections, and Government of God; in the second, of the active and moral powers of man: these occupy his first volume. Book the third treats of the grounds and principles of moral obligation; and the remaining five enlarge on the duties we owe to God—to our fellow-men—to ourselves,—on relative duties resulting from the constitution of the sexes,—and on those which arise out of the constitution of civil society. The inquiry concerning happiness is introduced towards the close of the sixth book. Our readers will see that the work embraces, in fact, a treatise on theology; and although all the doctrines of the Christian system are not distinctly discussed, or the controversies noticed which make up so large a portion of divinity systems, the discoveries of the New Testament are constantly adverted to, in illustrating the Divine perfections and the notion of true morality. We think that he

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\* A *System of Moral Philosophy*, by the late reverend and learned Mr. Henry Grove. Edited by Thomas Amory. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1749.

has acted judiciously in thus combining theology with ethics. God has joined them, nor can they without violence be put asunder. Morality, apart from faith, is a superstructure without a foundation; for there is not a duty which does not involve the principle of faith as the main-spring of the moral action. The Author's arrangement of his system is not perhaps altogether unexceptionable. In the second book, he is necessarily led to anticipate the discussion of subjects inseparably connected with social and personal duties; and the grounds of moral obligation, which are discussed in the third book, required to be, in strict order, ascertained and laid down, before proceeding to describe the mixed principles of action in man. The subject of Chap. xv. of the second book properly belongs to the division which treats of the Divine attributes and government. As our readers will, however, be more interested in knowing how Dr. Dewar has executed his task, than what method he has adopted, we shall at once proceed to give a few specimens of the lectures. Our first extract is from the chapter on the power of God.

‘The infinity of the divine power may be argued from the infinity of the divine essence. Power in God is not any thing distinct from his nature, but is his nature or will acting in a certain way, doing whatever he pleases without difficulty and without resistance. It is only to aid our conceptions that revelation ascribes hands and arms to him, as we exert our power by such instruments; but his will is power; it executes without either matter to work upon, or means to work by; and his works stand forth when, and as, he wills them. Though the effect must be finite, the cause is infinite: it is co-eternal and extensive as the essence and being of God. As his power is not any thing different from himself, but is his own will acting according to the boundless perfection of his nature, and as he is everywhere and always the same, his power is of course everywhere and always infinite.

‘If we only bear in mind, that power in God is power in a Being of infinite perfection, exercised in union with absolute wisdom and goodness, we shall feel no difficulty in deciding in what sense, and with what limitations, divine omnipotence is to be understood. It reaches to the limit of possibility; but it cannot go beyond it without involving a contradiction. What the measure of possibility is, we know not. According to some, it is our power of conceivableness. But it may be asked, are there not many things possible and true, respecting which it may be said, that it never entered into the heart of man to conceive; and which, if proposed for our consideration, might seem inconceivable and incredible? Are there not many facts which the philosopher knows to be true, that are above the conceptions of a common mind, and which to such a mind must seem incredible and impossible? If we received the maxim as true, and as the rule of our belief, that conceivableness is the measure of possi-

bility, ought we not to reject as absurd whatever is beyond our reason, and to believe that what we cannot comprehend must be incomprehensible and impossible. If some have gone too far in darkening the light of reason from a mistaken view of doing honour to revelation, we must beware of going to the opposite extreme: if we are not to admit what is obviously repugnant to the first principles of reason, we are not, therefore, to set up reason as an infallible standard of what is possible or impossible, of what is true and false.

‘But though our conceivableness cannot be the limit of the divine power, as it cannot be the limit of any of the other attributes of God, yet we are sure that this power cannot perform what is in itself contradictory: such as to make any thing to be, and not to be, at the same time, and that a whole may be no greater than one of its parts;—we are sure it cannot do this, because the supposition is in itself, and independently of our conceptions, absurd. It is equally impossible for God to do any thing unsuited or opposed to his moral perfections. He cannot lie,—he cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man,—he cannot act or conduct his government without a constant regard to the wisdom and righteousness of his nature. He who is infinitely perfect cannot do any thing from caprice, cannot do any thing but what has reason and right for its support, cannot exercise his power but in harmony with the adorable perfections of his nature. While he is excellent in power, he is excellent also in judgment, and in plenty of justice.’ pp. 161—163.

In the second book, power, which is here considered as a perfection, is brought under consideration as a passion.

‘The next of our desires which I shall notice, is that of power. This principle has a wide influence over the thoughts and actions of man; and will sufficiently account for many parts of his conduct, the cause of which we cannot otherwise so easily trace. The existence of this principle discovers itself at a very early period of life. The first effect of which we consider ourselves the authors, gives us a sensible pleasure; and the pleasure is in general proportioned to the greatness of the effect, compared to the smallness of our exertion. The infant, while still on the breast, delights in exerting its little strength upon every object it meets with; and is mortified, when any accident convinces it of its own imbecility. The pastimes of the boy are, almost without exception, such as suggest to him the idea of his power; and the same remark may be extended to the active sports and the athletic exercises of youth and of manhood.

‘In some minds the love of power is so strong, that ease, and innocence, and happiness are sacrificed to its gratification. Wealth, and honour, and rank are pursued only on account of the influence or power with which their possession is attended. At length, this desire is cherished with all the ardour of passion; and the individual under its control, is hurried away from the attainment of one degree of influence to another, till he begins to aim at a point of elevation which he cannot reach without deep criminality.’ p. 418.

• It is interesting to trace the different ways in which different individuals acquire an ascendancy over others. And as all the gifts of rank, and fortune, and intellect, as well as of moral goodness, may be made in some way or other subservient to this end, they are all the objects of pursuit for the sake of the notice which they attract, and the power which they communicate. The boy who acquired the superiority over his fellows, by the performance of daring feats, and the exertion of muscular strength, gradually aims, as he arrives at manhood, at extending his influence over others, by the superiority of fortune and of situation, or by the still more flattering superiority of intellectual endowments;—by the force of his understanding; by the extent of his information; by the arts of persuasion, or accomplishments of address. In no case is the power of man over man more wonderful, and in general more enviable, than in the influence which the orator exercises over the thoughts and passions of a great multitude, while, without the force or the splendour of rank, he moves their will, and bends their desire to the accomplishment of his own purposes. This is a power far more elevated than that which only reaches to the bodies of men; it extends to the affections and intentions of the heart; and seems as if it were capable of arresting the trains of our ideas, and of awakening or of creating the feelings that are suited to its designs. The conscious possession of a power so vast and so peculiar is accompanied with a degree of pleasure proportionably great; and it may be supposed that the pleasure will prompt to the frequent and the more extended exercise of the superiority from which it springs.

• It has been noticed, that our desire of power is closely connected with our desire of knowledge, and comes, in the progress of reason and of experience, to act as an auxiliary to this desire. “Knowledge is power;” and by an accumulation of knowledge, or by acquiring a ready command of a great stock of knowledge to which we had not access before, our power becomes enlarged. Perhaps, our desire of communicating our knowledge may in a great measure be traced to the combined influence of the desires of power, superiority, and society. Even in communicating to others intelligence of a very ordinary description, we feel that we have some ground of superiority, however trifling; though it should consist in nothing more than the accidental priority of our information.

• In this way it is easy to account for our attachment to property, and the manner in which the love of money is created, and in which it gradually assumes an ascendancy over the mind. Money becomes the sign and the constant concomitant of the advantages which it procures, and the miser has dwelt so long on this association, has given to it his most interesting thoughts, that he at length values the sign irrespectively of the thing which it signifies. He now gives to money those regards which he originally gave to the power which money usually brings along with it. In a game of chance, there is a transference of value the reverse of this. The penny or the sixpence at stake is as eagerly contended for as if it were a hundred pounds: but in truth, the contest is not for the penny or the six-

pence ; it is for that victory, or that superiority over others, of which the penny is the symbol or sign. This trifling piece of money assumes a value in the minds of those engaged, as its possession is the mark of superiority, and awakens the consciousness of power, while its loss seems to indicate inferiority in skill, and consequently in power, to those by whom it is obtained. The same remarks apply to whatever becomes the sign of superiority over our fellow-creatures. The wreath of laurel with which the victor was crowned at the Olympic games, was in itself nothing ; but, regarded as the emblem of victory, and as conferred before the assembled Greeks, it possessed a value in the estimation of the competitors, which could not be surpassed by any of the gifts of rank or of fortune.

‘ It is on the same principle of association that we are disposed so highly to value the houses, and equipage, and attire of the great. These have in our estimation been always connected with power ; they are its constant appendages in an elevated rank of society, and it is not unnatural for us to transfer to them the feelings with which we regard the thing which they signify. In consequence of this illusion, the condition of the great seems to us to be a state of happiness, bordering on perfection.

‘ There can be no doubt that the love of liberty, in part, proceeds from the love of power ; from the desire of being able to do whatever is agreeable to our own inclinations. Slavery, in any degree, is a restraint upon our power ; and in this way it is a constant source of mortification to us, in the exercise of one of the strongest principles of our nature. Hence, one reason why it degrades the unfortunate being who is subject to it in his own estimation, and makes him painfully feel that he is lowered in the rank of thinking beings. And hence also it is, that the land of slavery is the land of all that is sordid and base in human nature ; all friendly intercourse between the inferior and superior orders is unknown ; and the mass of the people is treated with indignity and scorn. When the lower orders are thus considered as degraded by those whom they are sufficiently prone to respect, it cannot be doubted that they will imperceptibly view themselves in a somewhat similar light ; and it is unnecessary to say, that the influence of even such a conception, must have a debasing tendency on the whole character : For,

Jove fix'd it certain, that whatever day  
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.’ pp. 421—3.

In the chapter on principles of action, Dr. Dewar defines the will to be ‘ that power of the mind by which it determines ‘ to act or not to act, in those cases which depend upon its own ‘ determination.’ And again : ‘ The will is the power which ‘ the mind has to act or not to act.’ But what is determination but an act of the mind ? This definition makes an act of the mind anterior to its acting. In the tenth chapter of the same book, it is more correctly stated, that ‘ the will is that faculty ‘ of the mind by which it chooses or refuses, and by which it

exerts its active power.' Still, the latter part of the sentence implies, that the will is a something by which we exert active power, rather than the power which acts. The will is nothing more than the understanding choosing or refusing, which are in themselves acts of the mind,—exertions of the active principle, and the result of the affections and conscience. The whole of this section of the work may derive advantage from a careful revision. Some of the points touched upon in Chap XVI., especially the subject of the fifth section, require to be more closely and fully handled.

In the third book, Dr. Dewar ably enters the lists with Archdeacon Paley on the subject of the grounds of moral obligation. The following remarks are extremely forcible.

'There are also some authors, professedly friendly to the interests of religion, who deny the immutability of moral distinctions, and maintain that they have their sole origin in the enactments of will and power.

'Of this description is Archdeacon Paley, who has followed some writers that preceded him in their most dangerous statements, and has deduced from these statements their most exceptionable consequences. Such principles as the following are at the foundation of his system of morals. Whatever is expedient, is right. It is the utility of any moral rule alone which constitutes the obligation of it. Actions are to be estimated by their tendency. To be obliged to do an action, according to his view, is to be urged to it by a violent motive, resulting from the command of another. This motive, he tells us, can only be self-love,—as we are under no obligation to do any thing which does not contribute to our interest; so that, on the supposition of there being no future state, an action by which we could get nothing, would be perfectly indifferent to us. What makes the difference, according to him, between prudence and duty is, that in the one case we consider what we shall get or lose in this world, and, in the other, what we shall get or lose in the next. A man, therefore, who either does not believe in a future world, or who does not carry his views to it, can have no perception of duty.

'We cannot be surprised that an author who held principles so exceptionable as these, should, at the same time, hold notions subversive of the moral obligation of some most important religious duties, and directly calculated to overturn all public securities depending on tests and subscriptions. His moral philosophy has contributed much to the prevalence of a loose and unscriptural morality. It has led men to disregard the law of God as the only measure and rule of morals, and to substitute, in room of it, their own views of expediency.'

'In affirming that moral distinctions have a real existence independent of my perception,—an existence immutable and eternal, to which law owes its force and authority, I conceive I am maintaining, and not derogating from, the glories of the Deity. For he is as ne-

cessarily holy and good as he necessarily exists. His infinite goodness and rectitude form his moral attributes, and are as essential and unchangeable as his being. His power, therefore, though omnipotent, is bounded in its exercise by his holiness, justice, goodness, and truth: hence, he cannot do what is at variance with these perfections: he cannot lie,—he cannot deceive,—he cannot fail in his promises. From the necessary perfection of his nature, he cannot compromise a single iota of the claims of the high honours of the Godhead.

‘By the will of this great and glorious being must be understood, not any thing arbitrary, but the act of a mind possessing infinite intelligence as well as power, infinite rectitude as well as goodness. His will does not create moral distinctions, but is the expression of distinctions which eternally and unchangeably exist, and which are founded in his own nature. The boundless perfection of his nature is not the effect of his will, but his will is the effect, and, when revealed, the announcement of his supreme and necessary moral excellency.

‘This is the view which is every where given of God in scripture. His name (an expression well known as denoting his nature) is there represented as excellent in all the earth. He is said to be glorious in holiness—excellent in working—to be righteous and to love righteousness,—to be a God of truth and without iniquity,—to exercise judgment and righteousness in the earth; and to delight in these things. The same passage that makes known his almighty power, declares the moral excellences of his nature, and the perfection of his government. “Thou hast a mighty arm: strong is thy hand, and high is thy right hand. Justice and judgment are the habitation of thy throne: mercy and truth shall go before thy face.” Hence, the chief ground on which it is our duty to love the Lord God with all the heart, and with all the soul, and with all the mind, and with all the strength.

‘To suppose, then, that the will of God is the sole origin of the distinctions of right and wrong, shews that the framers of such a supposition have erroneous views of the necessary and eternal moral excellences of the Divine nature. If such distinctions were erected and depended on mere power and enactment, would it not follow as a consequence, that all which we approve of as virtue, uncontrollable power might present to our view as vice?—that we might be commanded to love and imitate the conduct of a malevolent fiend, and to hate and shun the example of angelic virtue,—and that had God so willed it, what we regard as the differences between moral actions would have been entirely reversed, and good would be put for evil, and evil for good, darkness for light, and light for darkness, bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter? According to this scheme, there is no justice, no truth, no benevolence, essentially, in God or in the universe; and the attempt of ascertaining what are the moral attributes of the Deity, is rendered unnecessary, since whatever he is, has been determined by an act of his will.’ Vol. II. pp. 27—30.

That the will of God is the origin of the distinctions of

right and wrong *to us*, that it is in fact *our* ultimate rule, might, perhaps, be admitted with safety, provided that it be borne in mind, that it cannot be the rule of the Divine conduct. The perfections of God, as Hooker finely remarks, are 'a kind of law to his working; for that perfection which God is, giveth perfection to that he doth.' . . . 'God, therefore, is a law both to Himself and to all other things besides. God worketh nothing without a cause. All these things which are done by him, have some end for which they are done; and the end for which they are done, is a reason of his will to do them. . . They err, therefore, who think that of the will of God to do this or that, there is no reason besides his will. Many times no reason known to us; but that there is no reason thereof, I judge it most unreasonable to imagine, inasmuch as he worketh all things, not only according to his own will, but *the counsel of his own will*. And whatsoever is done with wise counsel or wise resolution, hath of necessity some reason why it should be done\*.' The immutability of the Divine will is the necessary consequence of the Divine perfections from which it emanates: and it follows, that the moral distinctions which are ultimately to be traced to those perfections, must also be immutable.

Nearly akin to that philosophy which makes all moral distinctions originate in the will of God, is that which makes the rule of the Divine will itself to be the happiness of the creature. Paley's system of morals, as Dr. Dewar correctly remarks, is by no means original; and he was probably misled by authorities held at that time in the highest admiration. Thus, Archbishop King makes the basis of virtue to be, the will of God in respect to the good of his creatures. His definition is: 'Virtue is the conformity to a rule of life, directing the actions of all rational creatures with respect to each other's happiness: to which conformity every one in all cases is obliged†.' He argues thus: 'Private happiness upon the whole is the ultimate end of man. This absolutely depends on and can effectually be secured only by the will of God. The will of God, therefore, is our only adequate rule of action, and what alone includes perpetual obligation.' Again: 'Thus, the will of God is the immediate criterion of virtue, and the happiness of mankind the criterion of the will of God; and therefore, the happiness of mankind may be said to be the criterion of virtue, but *once removed*.'

Against this scheme of morality, there lie three fatal objections. First, it excludes the love of God from the idea of vir-

\* Eccl. Pol. B. I. § 2.

† Origin of Evil. Prel. Dis. § 1.

tue. Secondly, it makes a man's own happiness his highest object, and the reason why he is obliged to please God or to seek the Divine favour. Thirdly, it makes the will of God to be a proper rule, *because* He wills his creature's happiness.

The will of God is *our* rule, or the criterion of virtue to us, because it is the expression of the Divine character and the medium of discovering his infinite perfections. But, as the goodness of God towards his creatures is not the only attribute of the Divine Nature, it follows, that his holy will cannot be *solely* determined by his goodness, nor can the happiness of mankind be its criterion. Moreover, the Divine will is the expression *to us* of other Divine attributes, besides that perfection of goodness of which the happiness of man is the object; and therefore, when we say that his will is the *immediate* criterion of virtue, we must admit the ultimate criterion, that which determines the will of God, to be, not simple goodness, nor yet any end terminating in the creature,—but that ineffable perfection which includes infinite goodness in its nature, and which finds its highest end in its own exercise. 'The general end of God's eternal working,' says Hooker, 'is the exercise of his most glorious and most abundant virtue.'

The eternal foundations of right and wrong, then, are laid in the Divine character. And, indeed, obedience to his declared will would cease to be virtue, could it be separated from those affections of heart, of which, not the will, but the character of God is the object. In other words, the essence and soul of virtue is the love of God; and all systems of morals which overlook this truth, in dissevering ethics from theology, must at once be unphilosophical and pernicious. Now, God is necessarily the Perfection which he is; and virtue being the love of whatever God is,—of that necessary perfection which is the glory of God, the nature of virtue itself must be necessary and immutable. Or again: The whole will of God resolves itself into two great commandments: to suppose it possible that created beings should not be morally obliged to love their Creator, involves a contradiction: to suppose them not obliged to love those whom He loves—that is, to love one another—is equally absurd: in both relations, then, the will of God is identified with the nature of things, and right and wrong are necessary distinctions, and could not be otherwise.

Paley's erroneous views may, perhaps, in part be traced to his having been led, by the imperfect analogy between human legislation and the Divine government, to view them as cases strictly parallel. Because the happiness of mankind is the highest object of the one, he seems to have inferred, that it must be the ultimate end of the other. Human laws, which

consist of restrictions upon personal liberty and restraint upon the evil passions, are satisfied with outward conformity to the rule. The will of the legislator is the criterion of political virtue or of civil duties, and the good of society is the criterion of all wise and upright legislation. And private virtue is an object of indifference to the legislator, not coming under his cognizance, except so far as it conduces to the happiness of the community. Utility, expediency is, in this point of view, the rule of public virtue or public duty. Many of the positive enactments and prohibitions of the Divine Legislator, more especially those in the Mosaic code, bear a close resemblance to human laws in this respect. The will of God may be considered as, in these cases, the sole origin of the rule, and the good of the community as the ultimate reason of the Divine will,—the criterion of obedience 'once removed.' And the right and the wrong might have been otherwise determined. But in such cases, though obedience to the law may be to a certain extent a test of virtue, the object of the legislator is not to produce virtue,—for virtue resides in the disposition of the heart, over which positive enactments, terminating in outward conformity, exert no influence. No man is considered as a virtuous man, one entitled to praise and esteem, merely because he does not violate any of the laws of his country. The legislator's claims are satisfied, and yet, the man may have no pretensions to virtue. The temporal happiness of the community may be respected, and even promoted by the individual, and he may deserve praise as a useful citizen; and yet, virtue, in the sense of purity, disinterestedness, kindness, mercy, gratitude, piety, may have no existence in his bosom.

The moral government of God bears in this respect no analogy to human legislation. Its immediate end is the production and the reward of virtue, as consisting, not in conformity to a rule of life, but in conformableness of heart and devoted affection to the source and archetype of all virtue and all excellence, whose glory must be the creature's highest end, and whose favour must constitute its highest felicity.

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Art. IV. *The Crisis; or, an Attempt to shew from Prophecy, illustrated by the Signs of the Times, the Prospects and the Duties of the Church of Christ at the present Period. With an Inquiry into the probable Destiny of England during the predicted Desolations of the Papal Kingdoms.* By the Rev. Edward Cooper. Third Edition. 12mo. pp. xliv. 283. Price 6s. London. 1826.

**W**E could not take up a new work treating of the fulfilment of Scripture prophecies in the events of our own times,

without being reminded of the numerous instances in which preceding writers have unsuccessfully attempted to explain the predictions and symbols of the Sacred Volume, by applications of them to the current transactions of the day. It would be easy to collect from recent publications, examples of the strangest assumptions and most erroneous calculations, of singular prejudices and presumptuous conclusions; and to furnish, by citing numberless failures of confident predictions, proofs of the mistaken zeal of interpreters. The time is past, from which, if the expectations held out to our faith by expositors versed in the study of the prophecies had been realised, we should have dated the commencement of a new era in Christian history. If the course of affairs be compared with their anticipations, the conclusions to be drawn will not be found very favourable to their pretensions to superior skill, in respect to either the selections of their materials, or the adjustment of their systems. Nor will excess of caution appear to have formed one of their prominent qualifications. Many of these failures must be attributed to a predilection for some hypothesis suggested by fancied resemblances, which have interested the Writer's imagination too strongly to allow of the sound exercise of his judgement.

The errors of so many expositors, however, form no valid objection against the study of the prophecies of Scripture. The establishment of the oracular authority from which the predictions themselves proceeded, is most satisfactorily obtained. And as the authority of the inspired writings is uniform, our confidence cannot be withheld from any part of the declarations of future events which they contain. Neither the discordances nor the errors of interpreters can invalidate their truth and certainty. It would be well that the remark of Sir Isaac Newton, which this class of writers so frequently quote with approbation, were more generally observed by expositors; that the prophecies of the Bible were given 'not to gratify men's curiosities by enabling them to foreknow things, but that, after they were fulfilled, they might be interpreted by the event.' It must ever be perilous to their reputation, as well as fatal to their systems, to exceed this limit of their duty. Within its range, indeed, we might not perceive the perfection of wisdom in every exposition of prophecy; but the restrictions assigned would exclude the influence of many exciting causes which mislead ardent minds.

Mr. Cooper, in our judgement, has furnished one more instance to be added to the long list of writers whose mis-interpretation of the prophecies is to be ascribed to the strong impression produced on the imagination by passing events,

and to the solicitude felt by an author to support a favourite hypothesis. The principal aim of Mr. Cooper's present publication is, to exhibit the character and exploits of Napoleon, as a fulfilment of the prediction contained in the eleventh chapter of the book of Daniel, verse 36th to the end. In these verses, he supposes that there is delivered a prediction of the greatest importance to the Church of Christ, not only as it announces the rise and fall of the sovereignty of that extraordinary personage, but as connecting the time of his appearance with other notes of times still more important. Of the importance of his speculations, Mr. Cooper is evidently most strongly persuaded; and if his conclusions should be regarded by his readers as much in the character of established truths as they are by himself, he may be congratulated on the system of prophetic and political relations which he has so anxiously laboured to mature. His attempt, however, has less of the character of novelty than he would seem to claim on its behalf, when he describes his expository speculations as going the length of proposing a new interpretation of a part of the prophetic writings. Mr. Cooper's exposition is rather an improvement on the schemes of some of his predecessors, than a suggestion entirely original. The wilful and impious king of Mr. Cooper, is but another version of Mr. Faber's wilful and infidel king, who was, according to his explanation of the prophecy of Daniel, to arise in the last days of atheism and insubordination. Mr. Faber's dissertation was published only two years after Napoleon had been crowned Emperor of France; and in what application it was intended that the language of the prophecy should be construed, could not be unperceived by the readers of that work. The descriptions and invectives so copiously and vehemently directed against the ruler and the people of France, and so plausibly supported by proofs from holy writ, marking them out as an impious and atheistical race, entitled the authors of those tirades to the notice of the abettors of the warfare which was let loose against them. No device could have been more seasonable or more serviceable. Infidelity and atheism had for long periods of time been permitted to diffuse their poison, without awakening the indignation of the parties alluded to, by whom the loudest and fiercest cries were uttered against Napoleon, who was probably not less qualified for an avowed Christian sovereign, than some other crowned sons of the Church. The atheism and infidelity of the old European courts were not connected with political innovations, and therefore they were allowed to work their way undisturbed by outcries and opposition. In amicable agreement with superstition and corrup-

tion, they were never denounced as dangerous to altars and to thrones ; and no one would have thought of looking to Spain or to Naples as exhibiting a portentous object threatening the overthrow of the Christian faith, to which the page of sacred prophecy was referring every intelligent reader. Let courts be ever so corrupt and irreligious, there is never any loud expressions of alarm in certain quarters, so long as rulers are legitimate and despotic. In other cases, the danger is soon perceived, and the outcry is raised ; and should the determination be taken to draw the sword in support of absolute authority and established superstitions, the most effective services shall be rendered to the cause by religious instigators, who, if they may not brandish the spear and hurl the lance, may consecrate the banners of the crusaders, and give their benediction to the host going forth to the slaughter of the enemies of the cross.

Mr. Cooper's work, as our readers will soon perceive, is not without its political bearings ; it is, however, not open to the charge of being calculated to excite or to cherish national animosities. We shall now at once proceed to examine its most important and novel interpretations of Daniel's prophecy, Chap. xi. 36—45., because its value altogether depends on its correctness in this particular, and a discussion of its entire contents would require more space than we can conveniently afford to it.

In his thirteenth chapter, Mr. Cooper endeavours to support his position, that the present crisis is the interval which precedes the time of unprecedented trouble, by an argument which he considers as furnishing a direct and independent proof in its favour. This argument, he founds on the intimation given to his disciples by our Lord :—" *When ye shall see* " the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy places, (whoso readeth, let him understand,) *then* let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains." Here, certainly, was a specific event foretold, by which the disciples of Christ, on its arrival, would be enabled to perceive that the day of visitation was at hand, and which they would rightly regard as a note of preparation. But if this example be assumed as the ground of an argument, that some specific sign may be expected to be given in relation to the ' crisis ' which Mr. Cooper asserts, and labours to prove, is now come, —it must be shewn, in the progress of the Author's reasoning from this supposed analogous case, that, as the crisis in the former instance was expressly provided with its distinctive mark by which it was to be known, so, in the latter, a signal and specific mark is given ; and that this mark is so con-

nected with the events of the period, as to appear, on the very face of the record, as an intimation of its arrival, and a special admonition from Christ to his disciples in relation to their duty. If any particular circumstance can be produced as being such distinctive mark, it must be shewn to be given expressly as a mark of the predicted period. Now, here Mr. Cooper totally fails. It is his object through several chapters, to shew, that the arrival of the long anticipated era which should introduce the 'time of trouble,' is provided with its appropriate and definite mark. The king whose character and exploits are described in Daniel xi. 36—45, is supposed to be introduced into the prophecy for the very purpose of indicating that period.

'When this "king" shall have appeared; shall have fulfilled the office assigned to him; and shall have come to his end in the manner described; then let it be known, that Michael, the great prince, which standeth for the people of Daniel, is standing up; and that the time of trouble, such as never was, during which their deliverance shall be effected, is fast approaching. Then let Israel lift up their heads, for their redemption draweth nigh.' p. 102.

The standing up of Michael on behalf of Daniel's people, may be coincident with the fall of the king who is the subject of the concluding verses; but it must be equally coincident with the time of trouble, and therefore cannot be a signal that it is fast approaching. It is apparent, however, from the prophecy, that the 'king' is not introduced as a specific mark for the purpose of distinguishing and setting out the time of trouble. The passage in which he is described, is not preceded or accompanied by any direct notes of emphasis, to fix the attention on its subject, as being monitory. It is not at all like the passage cited by Mr. Cooper, in which our Lord refers to distinctive and related signs as clearly marked out signals of the visitation which he announced. There is clearly no analogy or correspondence in the one case to the other.

Napoleon is the 'king who shall do according to his will,' and whose appearance was to indicate the important period which precedes the redemption of Israel. 'Napoleon proved 'to be "The King,"' is the title of Mr. Cooper's sixteenth chapter. Let any unbiassed reader peruse the passage in Daniel xi. 36—45, and attempt to interpret it by the correspondence of Napoleon's history, and he will, we imagine, be convinced that it belongs to some other subject. It appears to us to be indisputable, that whosoever may be designated by the prophet as the king, the rise and prosperity of the person, or power, so described, are to be understood as preceding 'the time of the end. But if so, Napoleon cannot be the king.

The king is described from verse 36th to verse 45th. He is distinctly and emphatically denominated a king, and in this capacity and title the entire series of predictions is delivered respecting him. The 45th verse commences with a description of opposition and warfare directed against him—"And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him, &c." The time of the end is not connected in the prophecy with the appearance of 'the king.' If, at the 36th verse, we had read, "And at the time of the end a king shall do according to his will, &c." there might have been some appearance of support in favour of Mr. Cooper's interpretation. But the time of the end being connected with and marking the time of opposition and warfare, obviously takes out of this period, the time of the despotic rule and prosperity of the king who shall do according to his will. Now, according to Mr. Cooper, the time of the end includes the whole period which commences at the expiration of the 1260 days of the obscurations and persecutions of the Church, and in the course of which the tyrannical powers that have oppressed her will be utterly broken, and her millennial glories will have commenced. This period, 'the time of the end,' Mr. Cooper dates from 1792. But Napoleon was not a king at that date; he was not known to the world at that time; and could not be in 1792, a sovereign in the plenitude of power, before the time of the end.

In applying the prophecy to Napoleon, the Author adopts a most arbitrary distribution of the particulars which it comprises. It is impossible, we think, to read the prophecy with unprejudiced attention, without the fullest conviction, that the predications of the prophecy which follow the announcement of the opposition directed against 'the king' from verse 40th, are in reference to times subsequent to that opposition. His entering into the glorious land—his stretching his hand upon the countries—his power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt—his being troubled by tidings out of the East and out of the North—his going forth with great fury to destroy—his planting the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas, in the glorious holy mountain—are evidently events in succession. They are clearly a last series of acts, and not a first. Whatever may be the contents of the alarming messages out of the East and the North, and which are the exciting cause of his rage and destructive resolutions, his planting his tabernacles in the position assigned, is a part of his successes or history consequent on his going forth, and immediately preceding his end. But Mr. Cooper's hypothesis is constructed on the most unnatural and

violent disruptions of the arrangement, and is altogether a capricious distribution of particulars.

Mr. Cooper could not possibly be insensible to objections which might be urged against his hypothesis on this very ground. He attempts therefore to obviate such objections, and to establish his interpretations by endeavouring to shew, that, in the prophecy, no consecutive connection of events exists. But here, again, he fails. For, granting that, in the particulars stated in verses 36, 37, 38, 39, there is no chronological order, it is sufficiently obvious that, in those verses, no chronological arrangement is necessary: the particulars are particulars of character, and do not belong to historical details. The case is entirely different with verses 40—45. In these are described proceedings which must have followed each other in consecutive series, and to which, therefore, notes of chronological order must be applied. The strength of Mr. Cooper's argument against the chronological order of the passage, is the conclusion which he deduces from a comparison of verses 41 and 45.

'The 42d verse,' he remarks, 'describes the successes and conquests of the infidel king in Egypt, antecedently to his passing over into the holy land: which shews, unless it be contended that two similar invasions of Palestine are foretold, that the particulars stated in the 41st verse relate to the same events with those predicted in the 45th, and consequently that no regular chronological history is given in this part of the prophecy.' p. 154.

This remark, however, is altogether erroneous. The particulars in the 41st verse are entirely distinct from those in the 45th. The former predicts his entering into the glorious land; but nothing is predicated of his retiring from it, or returning to it. It is to be the scene of his success;—and his planting his tabernacle between the seas, in the glorious holy mountain, is evidently distinct from his entering into the glorious land, and subsequent to it. We shall cite the prediction of Daniel as comprised in verses 40—45, and place in corresponding portions, the events in which Mr. Cooper sees the fulfilment of the prophecy.

'40. And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him: and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships:—

'It was in the Peninsula that the attack commenced, which, though feeble in its beginning, led to events which ultimately produced his (Napoleon's) fall. Thus, the *king of the south pushed at him*. Indeed, the whole Peninsular war was of a character which exactly corresponded with the idea here conveyed. A stand was made against

' 41. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

' 42. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries; and the land of Egypt shall not escape. 43. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Lybians and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps.

him at the very time when he seemed, as it were, to have accomplished his object; and he was compelled gradually to give way, step by step, till thus at length he was *pushed* from the shores of the Atlantic to the further side of the Pyrennees. But in the mean time, the king of the north was coming 'against him like a whirlwind, &c.' The mention of "many ships" intimates that England was here intended.

' From these verses (40—45) it appears, that the fact of his entering into the glorious land having been stated, the circumstances which induced him to go thither are briefly detailed. Having made himself master of Egypt—early in December, 1798, Napoleon (General Buonaparte) went to Suez to survey the isthmus, and to make the necessary preparations for marching his army in that direction, as soon as the season would admit. And *if* circumstances had not interposed and induced him to change his meditated purpose, *if* he had proceeded in the intended direction, Edom, and Moab, and the children of Ammon (the countries which were formerly inhabited by those nations; and which, lying in the line of Napoleon's (Buonaparte's) projected march, testified their alarm by suppliant deputations to him during his residence at Suez) would have been exposed to the invasion and ravages of his armies. But unexpected tidings suddenly altered his plans; by which incident those countries "escaped out of his hand." 127.

' He stretched forth his hand upon the land of Egypt, after taking first Alexandria and then Cairo. At this latter place, having divided the country into departments, he called a general assembly, professedly chosen by the people, but actually nominated by his generals. Through the means of this council he issued whatever decrees he pleased; and amongst others, imposed an oppressive land-tax, not only

' 44. But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

' 45. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain.

' 45. Yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.'

in Cairo, but also in the poorest villages; and thus he had "power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt:" while by recruiting his army from the conquered country, he had "the Lybians and Ethiopians at his steps." 127.

' These tidings were from "the north," Constantinople; and from "the east," Palestine and Arabia, informing him of the hostile preparations which were making against him, especially of the forces which the Pasha of Damascus, then resident at St. Jean d'Acre, was collecting, and of the multitudes of the Arabs which it might be expected would co-operate with him. "Therefore he went forth with great fury to destroy and utterly make away many:" he entered into the glorious land, and many were overthrown. Gaza, Lydda, and Ramah, were attacked and taken. Joppa, garrisoned by 6000 men, was carried by assault; 129.

' And in the course of his march, the keys of Jerusalem were delivered unto him; and his camp was planted in the Holy Land, between the Dead and the Mediterranean seas. 130.

' The Russian expedition gave the first intimation of his change of fortunes.—England gave the final blow to his dominion in the memorable plains of Waterloo;—of him it may be most truly and descriptively said, that he "came to his end, and none did help him."

Now, that the opposition raised against Napoleon as Emperor of France, should be placed in the prediction with so many occurrences intervening in the description of events, before the final catastrophe which dissolved his power,—these occurrences being transactions which preceded his elevation to sovereignty,—is, we think, so incredible as to amount to proof presumptive that the prophecy cannot relate to him. But, indeed, the statements in the prediction are not descriptive of the proceedings of Napoleon. The king of Daniel is represented as first entering into the glorious land, and thence prosecuting his successes. Bonaparte's first object was Egypt, which he invaded as General under the orders of the Directory,

in July 1798, and from which he returned to France in October 1799, leaving behind him his army. We cannot perceive that Bonaparte's imposing an oppressive land-tax on Cairo and the poorest villages, is a circumstance adequate to answer the prediction that 'he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt.' Nor can we assume that the information received by Bonaparte of the hostile preparations making against him, is an accomplishment of the prediction of the 44th verse, which would evidently seem to require some affair much more important and less remote from the final catastrophe foretold, to answer to it. Mr. Cooper has here strangely and capriciously inverted his text, which does not connect the going forth of the king utterly to make away many, with his entering into the glorious land.

In determining the application of the prophecy, the character of the king is of primary consideration. Let us then see how Mr. Cooper proceeds to adjust the particulars of the prediction in this respect. We shall give, as in the preceding instance, the text of the prophet accompanied by the comment of his present expositor.

'36. And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods: and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that that is determined shall be done.

'37. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all.

'38. But in his estate shall he honour the god of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.

'39. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge, and increase with glory: and he shall

'In the character of "the king," as detailed by the angel, the two prominent features are wilfulness and impiety. Of the former of these, as including in it an ambitious and a despotic spirit which would endure no control, together with pride, insolence, and cruelty, no other proof need to be adduced than that which the mere reading of the passage at once supplies.—As to his *impiety*, no one who has searched into particulars can doubt. In addition to those instances adduced by Mr. Frere, —such as his ascribing his successes, in his public dispatches, to his *fate* and his *destiny*; his dedicating, in the year 1801, the consecrated chapel of the Invalids to Mars, the god of war, and placing the image of that pagan deity on the spot which had been occupied by the Christian symbol of redemption; his declaring in his speech to the Council of Ancients, Nov. 10th 1799, "I have always followed the god of war, and *fortune* and the *god of war* are with me;" his permitting the most blasphemous addresses and applications of

cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.'

Scripture prophecies to himself;—in addition to these proofs and displays of impiety, the proclamations issued by Napoleon in Egypt, confirm very strongly his resemblance in this point to the person predicted by the Angel.'

Mr. Cooper maintains in his 15th chapter, that the kings specified in Daniel's prophecy, chap. xi., are individual kings. 'The kings of the north and of the south are literally kings, and the proceedings predicted are those of individual kings.'—'The King,' who subsequently makes so prominent a figure in the prediction, is a *literal and individual* king. It must then be in his kingly capacity, as a sovereign ruler, that each one of these is introduced into the prophecy. But what is the fact in respect to Bonaparte, to whom the application of the above character is made by Mr. Cooper? Almost every distinct and discriminating particular assumed and explained by him, is appropriated to Bonaparte at a time when he possessed no sovereign power, when he was not a king, but was in command under the authority of others. And not any of the descriptions of the impiety of 'the king' are applied by Mr. Cooper to Napoleon in his possession of supreme power. This anomalous fact is quite decisive of Mr. Cooper's hypothesis. Mr. Faber might, with some appearance of a plausible application of the character, allude to the infidelity and impieties of France under her republican governments; but Mr. Cooper has not ventured to designate the years of Napoleon's sovereignty as being the time in which the impiety of the king was to distinguish and mark him out. The single fact, that Napoleon revived the national profession of religion, and restored the national worship, is a refutation of Mr. Cooper's hypothesis. By the concordat of Sept. 10, 1801, the Roman Catholic religion was re-established in France by Bonaparte; and at his coronation as Emperor in 1804, the Pope himself was personally present. This fact could not be unknown to Mr. Cooper, nor could he avoid perceiving its entire opposition to his system. But how does he answer the objection which it presents? 'It may be,' he remarks, 'justly replied, that this was altogether a political measure.' A reply which every reader must perceive to be altogether insufficient, and which leaves the objection in all its force, to subvert entirely the hypothesis which Mr. Cooper has so patiently laboured to construct. The character of the king of Daniel is represented as uniformly wicked and blasphemous, and the acts and proceedings by which his character is to be displayed, are to be open, uniform, and constant. How does this agree with Na-

napoleon in his capacity of a sovereign? What strange god did he regard? What marvellous things did he speak against the God of gods? The restoration of the Roman Catholic religion in France by Bonaparte, presents an insuperable objection to Mr. Cooper's hypothesis, inasmuch as it is in opposition to the text on which he comments. It is the entire, and uniform, and public acts of the sovereign that are to be considered, and these simply as they are facts; nor do they in this instance differ from other acts of sovereigns and states, not even if we allow Mr. Cooper to denominate the 'measure' a 'political' one.

Napoleon's appearance in the world is the 'signal and specific mark' which, in Mr. Cooper's opinion, has been granted to the Church, to indicate the approaching time of unprecedented trouble; and this is the 'Crisis,' according to his computations, when judgement may be expected more immediately to begin at the house of God.

The second part of his work is employed in considering and illustrating the admonition of Christ to his Church, respecting their duty in the anticipation of the time of trouble, and the probable destiny of England during the continuance of the period of trial. The admonition which he illustrates, is the address of Christ: "Behold, I come as a thief: blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments; lest he walk naked, and they see his shame." An admonition to which too much attention can never be given, and which is at all times seasonable, though there may be times when its import may be regarded with peculiar interest. Whether the present crisis be the prelude to such awful visitations as Mr. Cooper declares to be at hand, and in which the papal kingdoms are to pass under such a punitive and desolating visitation as he announces, we presume not to determine. Conjectures are perilous. "The times and the seasons, the Father hath put in his own power." We should perhaps be disposed, were it our office to admonish the Church of its duties in respect to present appearances, to advert to circumstances to which Mr. Cooper has but slightly, if at all, alluded. It is present appearances, assuredly, that should by Christian monitors be chiefly considered. Whether there may be not danger accruing to the profession of the pure religion of Christ from secularizing tendencies, as comprised within the religious institutions of the day, and from the spirit and manner in which they are supported and conducted;—whether there be not deteriorating causes in silent but effectual operation in Christian societies, tending to obscure their lustre, and to impair their virtue;—whether the profession of Christ's religion be so distinct and so dis-

criminating in the individuality which ought to attach to it;—these and some other suggestions would probably occur to us, as suitable to an admonitory address at the present time. We do not indeed perceive in Mr. Cooper's description of the duties of Christians in relation to the present Crisis and the times which he represents as being near, that any advice is given, or any duties recommended, which are not proper at all times. Though we may judge them to be inadequate and defective, we cannot but commend the serious spirit which pervades them, and the earnestness with which they are inculcated. The Crisis is now arrived, at no great distance from which, according to the Author, is the season of unprecedented trouble, which will suddenly put an end to the state of apparent calm and tranquillity which the nations of Christendom are at this moment enjoying. Mr. Cooper's anticipations and warnings, like the responses of the Sibyl, are declaratory of conflicts and destruction.

‘ *Bella, horrida bella.*

*Et Tybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.*’

Tremendous judgements on the papal kingdoms; political convulsions and revolutions; sanguinary and desolating wars, aggravated, it is probable, by intestine commotions and religious animosities, and terminating in the utter extinction, by some providential dispensations unusually awful, of the papal church and kingdoms, and of all their adherents and supporters;—such is the present Crisis. Through all these desolations, England, Mr. Cooper is of opinion, will pass without sharing deeply in the effects of the judgements appointed so extensively to punish and to destroy. We cannot accompany him through his copious inquiry into the probable destiny of England during this period of unprecedented trouble. We must, however, confess, that we do not estimate very highly the wisdom of some his speculations, nor can we approve of many of the sentiments which he has delivered in this portion of his work.

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Art. V. *Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces on the Southern Banks of the Caspian Sea.* By James B. Fraser. 4to. pp. 384. Price 1l. 11s. 6d. London. 1826.

OUR readers will recollect that we, some time since, reviewed a quarto volume of travels in Khorasan by the Writer whose ‘adventures’ are now on our table. The present publication may be considered as a supplement to the former, since it contains a continuation of the Author’s journey; it is,

however, printed as an independent memoir, and will be found to be equally spirited and interesting in its narrative with the work to which it succeeds.

It will be recollected that Mr. Fraser, in December 1821, left Tehran, for the purpose of exploring the upper provinces of the Persian empire, and that, after various adventures, of which we gave a somewhat ample detail, he reached Astrabad early in April 1822. Here, after passing through provinces in which a lawless and insurgent spirit evidently prevailed, he felt himself to have reached a region of comparative tranquillity, though its inhabitants are remarkable for ignorance, bigotry, and ungracious manners in their intercourse with strangers. The city, though, like all Persian towns, encumbered with ruins, has a highly gratifying appearance. Its well paved streets, luxuriant gardens, and surrounding prospects present an exterior of beauty, which gives the inhabitants but a wretched compensation for the malaria occasioned by the pestilential miasmata of their swamps and untrimmed forests. After a brief residence here, Mr. F. proceeded on his journey to Saree, the capital of Mazunderan. His track lay along the paved *chausée* which was built by the orders of Shah Abbas, for the purpose of facilitating communication in this mountainous district. It appears to have been a solid and well-constructed work, though inferior in width to the dimensions assigned by the calculations of Jonas Hanway. At Ashruff, the principal object of curiosity was the garden and palace of Shah Abbas, with its canals, cascades, fountains, and pavilions, that existed in all its glory when visited by Hanway, but now lies desolate, its domes fallen, its waters stagnant, its terraces shattered, and, in the chambers of wantonness, with their pictured walls and gilded roofs, are now stabled the cows and mules of the resident peasantry. It seems to have been a gorgeous structure, or rather a connected series of splendid buildings and luxuriant gardens; and its ruins still bear testimony to the liberal spirit of the magnificent Shah, while they attest the despicable avarice of the reigning monarch, who often visits this quarter of his dominions, and who, when urged by a Seyed, a descendant of the prophet, and the local architect, to order at least a partial repair, unblushingly pleaded poverty in reply to every suggestion. Nor is it mere neglect that has reduced this bright and beautiful spot to its actual desolation; dilapidation, deliberate and unrestrained, has been actively employed. The materials are at the mercy of any one who may choose to carry them off. The pavements, composed of 'fine flag-stones' of large dimensions, and brought from a considerable distance at great expense, have been broken up and shivered to fragments for the sake of

the iron clamps which fastened them together, nor could the beauty of the marble slabs which 'formed the basements,' secure them from a better fate.

On the 21st of April, Mr. Fraser reached Saree, the capital of Mazunderan, a city of high antiquity, and the residence of Mahomed Koolee Meerza, one of the king's sons. This worthy prince cherishes the same despicable appetite for wealth that distinguishes his father and the greater part of his family. He intimated that he expected a handsome present, and our countryman was compelled to tax his slender resources for the purpose of gratifying the avarice of this all-grasping governor. Poor Ramzaun Beg, Mr. Fraser's host and Nazir or steward of the prince's household, had experienced the galling effects of his master's rapacity. Before the appointment of Mahomed Koolee Meerza to the government, Ramzaun had been a man of property and consequence, but the prince's favour was the forerunner of misfortune; extortion and confiscation reduced him, if not to absolute want, at least to the necessity of a politic affectation of poverty. He behaved well to his guest, and his mansion is represented as exhibiting a favourable specimen of Persian comfort.

'The house, in so far as it met the eye, was good, comfortable, and clean, and the rooms of reception were neat and even elegant. The walls were nicely plastered, and adorned with devices in stucco; the windows were carved, and coloured in forms like those exhibited in the kaleidoscope. Numerous niches in the walls were fitted up with velvet and gold-worked coverings. A handsome fire-place occupied one side, beautiful numuds\* and rich carpets were spread above Indian mats on the floor. But the moment these rooms were passed, the bare bricks and unplastered walls stared you in the face; the passages and staircases were so narrow, that two persons could hardly pass each other, and every thing looked slovenly and unfinished. The approach from without was by a dirty lane, so narrow, that a man on horseback could not reach the door; on either side of which were heaps of broken bricks and earth, dirt, and pools of green or slimy water. Yet, before the windows, were little gardens neatly laid out in walks, shrubs, and beds of flowers; and beyond the town-wall might be seen a fine prospect of the plains and mountains. The lodging assigned to the principal guest was comfortable enough; but the servants of that guest had hardly a place to lay their heads on, or to protect his baggage from the weather. We dined on good pillaw, but our servants had often not even dry bread to put in their mouths, unless their master gave them money to pay for it; and as to his horses, they had neither shelter nor food, not even a place where they might stand upon dry ground.'

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\* Thick carpets of felt, sometimes richly ornamented in glowing colours.

Mr. Fraser's introduction at court was of the usual complimentary kind, but, as a European, he was supposed to possess great medical skill, and he was required to prescribe for the prince's sister, for which purpose he obtained admission to her chamber. The symptoms were such as to render personal examination necessary, hepatic affection appearing to be indicated; but this was not permitted, and he declined further interference. He had afterwards an opportunity of seeing the prince in his more familiar association with his attendants. His highness had expressed a wish to examine the drawings and astronomical instruments that Mr. Fraser carried with him; and, during the exhibition, ordered that a raree-show-box of his own should be brought in. Mr. F.'s drawings were placed before it, and afforded so much gratification that he began to tremble for their safety; but, happily, the coarse and tawdrily coloured prints which accompanied the instrument, covered their retreat. This wonderful show-box delighted the Persians beyond measure; the prince jumped from his musnud and turned showman; physicians, privy counsellors, and attendants collected round him shouting and applauding like a set of school-boys. The solemnity of official ceremony was forgotten; all ranks called to each other by their names, and the prince was simply addressed as 'Shah-zadeh.' Mr. Fraser was, of course, no less pleased at his admission behind the scenes, and 'joined heartily in the uproar and the glee.' At Saree, Mr. Fraser had to separate from the Meerza Abdool Rezah, the companion whom he had engaged to accompany him on his travels. It was a painful business, for the Meerza, though indolent and vacillating in the extreme, was a man of talent, enterprise, liberal sentiment, and integrity. He exhibited, at parting, a disinterestedness which would have been honourable in any country, but in Persia was absolutely monstrous. Knowing that Mr. F.'s finances were in a low state, he wished to decline receiving the balance of his stipulated salary. 'A Dervish,' said he, 'can always find friends and the means of living; but you are a stranger in a hostile land, and must not deprive yourself of what may be necessary to your safety.' Mr. Fraser, having paid him a part, and given him an order for the remainder of his stipend, presented him with a horse and furniture, a gift which the worthy Meerza reluctantly accepted.

Furrahbad, about seventeen miles from Saree, lies on the Caspian at the mouth of the Thedjin river, and is remarkable for the ruins of a palace built by Shah Abbas, in which, A.D. 1628, he closed a prosperous reign of forty-three years. Much of the rapidity with which these buildings and the

similar structure at Ashruff have sunk into decay, is ascribable to the damp climate of Mazunderan; the dry atmosphere of Irak would have ensured a much longer duration. At this place, Mr. Fraser found a Russian establishment for curing sturgeon, under the superintendence of an Armenian, who farms the fishery from the Persian Government. Two Russian galliots lay at anchor in the offing.

Balfroosh, the first place of importance west of Saree, at the time of Mr. Fraser's visit, was a flourishing mercantile town, but it owed much of its prosperity to the absence of all court retainers; a privilege which was about to cease, as its wealth had attracted the notice of Mahomed Koolee, who had appointed his son Iskunder to the government, and the prince would not fail to bring with him a train of gentry well versed in the science of bribes, imposts, and exactions. The inhabitants are calculated by Mr. F., to exceed two hundred thousand. Mr. Fraser now became anxious to proceed with greater rapidity; he had ascertained that the English embassy had left Tehran for Tabreez, and he was, on many accounts, desirous of a direct communication with his countrymen. With this view he determined on making for Resht, a distance of more than two hundred miles; he engaged a muleteer for the whole route at the rate of two tomauns each, (about twenty-two shillings,) for such cattle as might be necessary. However earnest Mr. Fraser might be to proceed, he was detained at the town of Amol by the courtesy of Timour Meerza, son of the prince of Saree, and a remarkably handsome youth of about sixteen. Report spoke highly of the virtues and talents of this fine young man, but it is painful to recollect how little these can avail in the present state of Persia. The death of the present Shah would be the signal for a fierce and desperate struggle, that would sweep from the earth every vestige of claim in rivalry of him who might be lord of the ascendant in the royal house. The high qualities of this prince make him but the more dangerous; and his only resource against destruction will be, either successful resistance or voluntary exile.

On the 19th of May, the party crossed with difficulty and some hazard, the river Suffeedrood; and after a day's laborious march of twenty-eight miles, entered Resht, the capital of Gheelan. Mr. Fraser had scarcely settled himself in the apartments assigned him, before he was surprised by the appearance of a singular visitor. A young man, in a rich scarlet dress, entered the room, seated himself with the utmost familiarity, and began a series of flippant inquiries in a tone, of which Mr. F. was about to resent the impertinence, when, at once changing language and manner, his visitor addressed

him in excellent English, announcing himself as Meerza Mahomed Reza, one of the young Persians who were, sometime since, resident in England for the purpose of making themselves acquainted with European science. He was in the employ of Abbas Meerza, by whom he had been sent to Gheelan in the capacity of engineer; but, however important his services might be to his country, they had hitherto been extremely unprofitable to himself, inasmuch as he had been most unmercifully plundered, both by the prince who held the government of the province, and by the influential chieftains about his person.

The government of Gheelan was at this time in the hands of one of the King's sons, who had been summoned to court, that he might defend himself against serious charges of mal-administration; and during his absence, the affairs of the province were administered by his brother, Alee Reza Meerza, a youth of sixteen. Both these princes were remarkable for haughtiness and rapacity, but the younger seems to have been by far the more insolent and shameless of the two. It was especially unfortunate for Mr. Fraser, that he should be just at this time placed in the power of so arbitrary and obstinate a personage, since he was compelled by the fierceness of this self-willed prince, to remain for a most inconvenient length of time at Resht, as a prisoner at large. The blundering gossip of a young man who left Resht on a visit to Tehran, just after Mr. F.'s arrival, had metamorphosed the scientific traveller into a political agent, with the title and honour of a Russian ambassador. This caused a strange commotion at court. The Shah, as soon as the news reached him, sent for his son, the impeached governor, and rebuked him for want of information; the prince sent off an express to his brother reproaching him for negligence; and the latter could devise no better method of making all clear and satisfactory, than the detention of Mr. Fraser until the return of the elder prince from court. Remonstrance and menace were equally in vain; the young tyrant had settled his determination, and it was impossible to move him from his resolve. Independently of the specific inconveniences occasioned by this arrest, there were considerations which led to more serious apprehensions concerning its real object. It was well known that the Shah was jealous in the extreme of any attempt to explore Khorasan or any of the provinces east of Irak. The murder of Mr. Brown, perpetrated by the orders of that monarch, at no great distance from the place where Mr. F. was detained, and the death of certain French officers who were said to have fallen victims to the same policy, were rather unpleasant precedents;

and a number of awkward circumstances combined with these coincidencies to inspire Mr. Fraser with a very natural apprehension that he was in danger of paying a heavy penalty for the indulgence of his curiosity. He had traversed Khorasan; he had ascertained the weakness of the Persian frontier in that direction; and the *contretemps* which stayed his steps just as he was on the point of joining his countrymen at Tabreez, had very much the aspect of a late-formed resolution at court, to prevent him from making any report of the results of his inspection. In this dilemma, the *detenu* determined on an attempt to escape, and, after a number of ineffective demonstrations, succeeded in leaving the city with his Persian servant Seyed Allee. His adventures in this perilous enterprise, alarming as they were at the time, have furnished him with materials for two or three interesting chapters, besides introducing him to a tribe with which he could hardly have made acquaintance on any other terms. After surmounting formidable and almost incessant difficulties, in the shape of bogs, swamps, jungles, mountains, and torrents, to say nothing of the suspicions excited by their appearance, the fugitives passed the frontier of Gheelan, and halted for the night at the village of Dees, in the province of Azerbaijan.

‘ I had not been an hour asleep, when a loud noise awakened me with a start, and I heard the feet of many people climbing to the roof of the house where we were, and calling out, “Where are they? Where are they? let us see them immediately.” Before we had well opened our eyes, our miserable bed was surrounded by a number of armed men, who began to rouse us very roughly. Seyed Allee was the first to sit up, and ask, “What is the matter?” “Nothing with you,” replied a rough voice, “but let us see this one.” I rose then, and he instantly exclaimed, “Yes, yes, this is the man; this is the Russian prisoner who has escaped.” It was no longer difficult to perceive that we were pursued and overtaken; and all that could now be done was, to try, if possible, to interest the chief of the village in our cause, and endeavour to gain his protection. There was great confusion, and much interrogation and reply passed to no purpose; but the chief of the party, a stout gruff-looking man, armed to the teeth, declared that I must instantly go with him. “Whither?” demanded I. “To Mahomed Khan Talish,” said he, “who has sent to seize you on the part of Mahomed Reza Meerza, governor of Resht.” ’

An appeal to the Ket Khodah or head man of the village, though supported by the production of authenticated papers, was in vain; the prisoners were consigned to the Talish highlanders, a rude ferocious race, bound by no laws but those of force and violence.

‘ I will not deny,’ writes Mr. Fraser, ‘ that my heart sunk within me as I left the lighted chamber, to face the dark cold night, under such inauspicious guidance; or that the retiring footsteps of the Ketkhodah and his party, heartless as they were, fell on my ear like those of my last departing friends in this world. The Ketkhodah had scarcely left us, than the soldiers, seizing Seyed Allee and myself, stript off our sashes, and bound our arms with them, tightly above our elbows. “ What is the meaning of this ? ” said I to the chief, who was mounting his horse close by ; “ Where is the horse you promised me ? I am in no state to travel without him.” A loud laugh was the unfeeling answer. “ A horse forsooth ! Oh ! Yes, you shall have a horse, no doubt ! Come, there is one worth a hundred toman down by the river side ; come and mount him.” And in this way, they pulled me savagely onwards. I now saw that the moderation with which we had been hitherto treated, had been only assumed to get us quietly out of the house, and I prepared myself as well as I could for the worst usage. It came soon enough ; my shoes were slipshod, and I was not even permitted to put them to rights, when I was dragged forward, and, on attempting to resist, was saluted by several sound blows across the shoulders. The chief was not far off, and I appealed to him, but he, feigning not to hear me, cantered forwards out of call. Meanwhile, the men who had Seyed Allee in charge went on before, so that we were entirely separated ; and I was left alone with two completely armed, strong, truculent-looking fellows in a wild pass, and in as dark a night as I ever beheld.’

Exhausted by three days constant travelling, without a single night’s rest, his feet blistered, and his arms bound, Mr. Fraser was urged forward by blows and menaces, until, having forded a river with much difficulty, they reached a desert of sand-hills, where he very naturally concluded that they meant to complete their work by putting him to death. It would, indeed, even to a less interested individual, have appeared in the same gloomy point of view. Why were these remorseless ruffians employed instead of the regular police ? The fate of Brown rushed again upon his recollection, and he concluded that he had been brought to this remote spot, that the deed might be acted where darkness and the desert secured against detection. Nor were these apprehensions diminished when his guards suddenly halted, and with savage laughter began to rend his clothes in search of plunder. They silenced his remonstrances with blows on the face and mouth, uttering the direst menaces.

‘ Their rage seemed to increase as they spoke, and at last they pulled me so rudely by the sash which bound my arms, that I fell on the ground ; when one of them, drawing his Gheelanee knife, exclaimed with an oath, that kill me he would ; that he would cut my head off and leave it to the birds. At this moment I fully expected

death; my thoughts glanced rapidly homewards, and to all I had left, and then, with something of a shudder, to the great change before me, and the awful presence I was about to enter; such, however, was the powerful excitement of my mind at the time, that the horror I felt was in fact, much less than, in reflecting upon it since, I could have thought possible. A short prayer was on my lips, and I believe I closed my eyes, but I could not and did not attempt resistance.'

The savage, however, felt that he was responsible to his master for the life of his prisoner, and sheathed his dagger, indemnifying himself for his reluctant forbearance by a shower of blows. Abuse and execrations accompanied this gratuitous barbarity, intermingled with intimations of what might be expected in the way of torture, from Mahomed Khan. Morning at length dawned, and those in advance having halted, the party joined, and the presence of the chief seemed to impose some restraint upon his followers. The shawls were loosened, the prisoners were allowed to wash and to arrange their dress, and they reached, without much additional suffering, the village of Gheeleeewan. Here the Ketkhodah interfered in favour of the prisoners; they were committed to the care of less ferocious or better tutored guards, and at length reached the residence of Mahomed Khan.

'Presently we were brought into the great man's presence. He turned round to look at us, and uttered some abusive expression; upon which signal our guards, in a moment drawing our bands tighter, began to belabour us both with short thick sticks, in a way which made me think they meant to beat us to death. Seyed Allee, losing courage, began to roar aloud, and swear that he was not in fault; and I cried out loudly, "Khan! Khan! spare that unfortunate; look at these papers which I have here to show you, and afterwards do with us what you think fit." On this they stopt: and the Khan slowly muttered, "Ah wretch! what papers can you have, that should induce me to spare either him or you? Bring them along with me."

'With that he then rose and walked to another hut, to which we, still bound, were also taken. Here we found one of the prince's gholams who had been sent in chase of us, and had brought the order which had induced the Talish mountaineers to use such diligence in pursuit of us. "Ah! my friend," cried the Khan, addressing him, "here they are; here, we have brought them all the way from Dees, in the country of Abbas Meerza; what think you of that? Who but the Talish could have done this? and who, even among them, but my brave fellows, who could have taken them from the very gates of Tabreez? Well, if this be not worth a khelut to me, you will do me little justice." "Barick illah! Barick illah!" cried the gholam: "by the head of the shahzadeh, by the head of the king, you have done well, you have done wonders! Can it be? Are they here? By my own head, and by yours, I swear that the shahzadeh shall know of your merits." And thus they went (on) for several minutes, mutually

uttering compliments, oaths, and protestations; the mountain-chief magnifying the importance and difficulty of his achievement, the other swearing the prince should know of and appreciate the khan's merits. At last, turning to me, he exclaimed, "Tell me, unhappy wretch, what tempted you to this deed? How could you dream of such an act, and how did you do it? You must have had guides, and not only that, but wings." "Khan," replied I, "I am an English gentleman, who have been long travelling in Persia, through the whole of which I have met with favour and protection until I came to Gheelan. I have business with the English ambassador at Tabreez, to which city I was hastening some time ago, after having procured from Allee Reza Meerza the passport which I now tender you. I was afterwards uselessly and unjustly detained by him at Resht, when I thought proper to make my escape, as you have seen. This is the truth, and these papers will prove it."

\* The khan took the papers and handed them to a meerza, the tutor of his two sons, who were all in the hut along with the gholaum. The meerza declared their import, which agreeing with my story, the khan could not pretend ignorance any longer of my real character, but, gradually relaxing his severity to a cheerful tone, began to praise my dexterity and boldness in effecting my escape.

\* I complained to the khan of the blows and ill-usage I had met with from his servants, but he took all this very lightly. "Oh!" said he, "they are thoughtless young fellows; they did not know who you were; you must forgive them for my sake." I replied that, prisoner as I was, and totally in his power, I could insist on nothing; that what I told him appeared to concern his own honour more than mine; if he did not think that affected by consenting to such ill-usage to a person in some degree under his protection, I would say no more.

Remonstrance on the subject of the robbery was equally useless, and we admire the boldness, rather than the discretion, that ventured to threaten this thorough-bred brigand with an appeal to the court of Tehran. He even contrived, with some dexterity, to effect a petty but vexatious depredation on his own proper account. Mr. Fraser's sketch-book, with drawings of costume, portraits, and studies of different kinds, had come under his notice, and attracted his attention. He asked for it as a gift; it was, of course, refused. He then *begged* permission to exhibit it to his wife, and 'managed to tear out about a dozen leaves, containing the most highly-finished and valuable figures.' This 'irreparable loss' was not detected till some time afterwards. Notwithstanding their previous fatigue, ill-usage, and want of rest, Mr. F. and his servant were again hurried off after a hasty refreshment, and compelled, with all their bruises, to push forward towards Resht. At the village where they halted, their reception was hospitable, and they

learned for the first time the full extent of the danger they had incurred. The tribe of Kiskar Talish, of which Mahomed Khan was chief, had long been infamous for reckless cruelty. Both the Ketkhodah of the village and the gholams assured Mr. Fraser, that his escape with life was an extraordinary instance of good-fortune; and that it was to be attributed only to the fact, that he had taken with him nothing of value. Had the prize been worth securing, he would have been effectually disposed of, on the principle that dead men tell no tales.

Mr. Fraser's main anxiety was concerning his servant, Seyed Allee, and for some time there was every reason to believe, that either mutilation or death would have been the penalty of his compliance with his master's schemes. All, however, terminated well. When Mr. F. returned to Resht, nearly the first information that he received, assured him of his freedom; his property was restored, the Talish were compelled to give up their plunder, indemnification was granted him for his additional expenses, and his servant was forgiven. He had gracious audience of the higher powers, and prepared to take his final leave of the province of Gheelan. Previously to his departure, a circumstance occurred, which seems to have put him rather unnecessarily out of humour. His semi-English friend, Meerza Reza, applied to him for the *loan* of ten tomauns, pleading the abject poverty to which he had been reduced by the merciless depredations of those in power, and assuring him of repayment at Tabreez. Now Mr. Fraser had—and this was perfectly well known to Meerza Reza—been run hard in his pecuniary resources, and was not altogether in a condition to spare a sum that cut deep into his remaining fund. On the other hand, the Persian had been very useful to Mr. Fraser, and was fairly entitled to something in the way of remuneration, since he was poor, and could not afford to render services for nothing. On the whole, we could have wished that Mr. F. had anticipated the application, and that Meerza Reza had not changed an affair of necessity into a swindling transaction, by affecting to give an order for the amount on his brother at Tabreez. As might have been expected, the paper proved worthless. For the rest, the meerza was an accomplished man; he read with discriminating admiration, the *Paradise Lost* and Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, studied Vince's *Astronomy*, and made judicious pencil notes in the margin of *Lalla Rookh*.

Mr. Fraser reached Tabreez, *via* Ardebeel, on the 12th of July, and no time was lost in laying a statement of all the circumstances connected with his detention before the Caimookan, or chief minister of Abbas Meerza.

'A day or two afterwards,' says Mr. F., 'I accompanied Captain Willock and some other English gentlemen to dine with the caimookan, and that nobleman questioned me very minutely regarding all the circumstances of my detention. He dwelt particularly upon my attempt at escaping, my re-capture, and its consequences; but it was apparent to all, that though he affected to be greatly shocked at the treatment which I had experienced, and swore at and abused those who had inflicted it, the old gentleman seemed to feel something of a malicious pleasure, in bringing to notice the awkward and humiliating predicament in which I must have stood. He made me repeat, again and again, all that had happened at the moment of my recapture, as well as when I was brought before the Talish chief Mahomed Khan; and insisted on my describing my journey back to Resht, riding double with my servant, on the pack-horses that were pressed for us. "Wullah!" exclaimed he; "and did they really beat you? What, beat you hard? Poor fellow! what wretches! And they tied your hands too? Ahi, ahi! unfortunate and unhappy! you have truly suffered greatly. And the gholaums would only give one horse between you both? and they, forsooth, rode yours all the way? and your feet were sadly bruised? By the head of the shah, they deserve to be punished." With that he laughed heartily, and it soon became clear enough, that whatever sympathy or indignation he might profess, no hearty support was to be expected from him, and that he rather, on the whole, enjoyed the scrape I had got into.'

The Caimookan was an extraordinary man. He commenced his career in the service of an unsuccessful claimant of the Persian crown, but had since risen in the favour of the reigning family. The heir apparent, Abbas Meerza, gave him his unlimited confidence, and he is described as an able and patriotic minister. For some time previously to Mr. Fraser's visit, this governor had spent much of his time in retirement; and for this a singular motive was assigned.

'The well known zealous missionary, the Rev. Mr. Martyn, when he resided in Persia, was accustomed to converse with the moollahs and doctors of the law, on points regarding the Christian and Mahomedan faiths; and the acuteness of his reasoning, combined with the perfect knowledge he possessed of Persian and Arabic, often confounded the most learned advocates of the Koran. When this gentleman quitted Tabreez, he left, in the hands of the moollahs, a treatise written in Persian, and containing a summary of the arguments he had used in conversation against the Mahomedan religion, requesting them to answer it if they could. There were many meetings and much consultation among the learned, but they could come to no satisfactory conclusion. The caimookan sent a copy of the treatise to some moollahs of equal repute for learning and orthodoxy, at Kerbela; but, after two or three years, it was returned without any reply that satisfied even themselves. He then resolved to take the cudgels up himself, and wrote much, but still without effect; and it

has been said, that this matter cost him more sleepless nights than all his state business.'

He was avowedly engaged in this bootless task, when Mr. Fraser reached Tabreez, but the master-piece of controversy was not destined to completion. He was attacked by the epidemic cholera, and the herculean remedies of the native doctors, cold water, ice, and verjuice, helped him forward to the grave.

The wild and mountainous region in which the river Tigris takes its rise, is tenanted by a race of Christians, said to be the descendants of that portion of the population which, occupying the country under the Greek emperors, retired before the desolation of Mahomedan invasion, and took refuge among those natural fastnesses. They are remarkable for ferocity, and, holding the Nestorian creed, feel even more satisfaction in putting a Romanist to death, than in martyring a Mahomedan. They consist of four tribes, maintain their independence, and are under the government of an hereditary chief priest, patriarch, and warrior, who is forbidden, by his sacerdotal character, to marry.

In August 1822, Mr. Fraser left Tabreez, and returned, by way of Teflis, Odessa, and Vienna, to England.

Art. VI. 1. *Woodstock*; or, the Cavalier. A Tale of the Year Sixteen Hundred and Fifty-one. By the Author of Waverley. In 3 vols. 12mo. pp 1033 Edinburgh, 1826.

2. *The Hearts of Steel*, an Irish Historical Tale of the last Century. In 3 vols. 12mo. pp. 994. London, 1825.

AN amusing article might be written on the vicissitudes of romance-writing, including the fashions, imitations, and plagiaries which have distinguished the history of this popular genus of composition. The last hundred and fifty years have witnessed some striking changes in this respect; and more than one of the species that have started up into conspicuous growth within that period, seem to have taken a permanent place in the *hortus siccus* of this very pleasant, but very unprofitable department of literature. Defoe, Swift, Fielding, Hamilton, le Sage, during the earlier section of this period, employed powers of a superior order in these vagaries of imagination. Richardson came later, and was followed by the operatives of the rural streets of Grub and Leadenhall. Miss Burney, Mrs. Radcliffe, and two or three other clever writers, kept attention awake in our younger days; but, in a general way, the market was miserably supplied, and matters seemed to

be getting worse and worse, when Waverley appeared. This admirable production gave a new impulse to the old stagers, and called out a whole army of new story-tellers, some of whom seem to have secured a permanent seat by the fire-side. Among the writers of this school, the Author of Brambletye House is by far the best. In knowledge of character and costume, he is but little below his master, though he comes far short of him in vigour, richness, and, of course, originality. We took peculiar pleasure in his narrative, when we found him calling up and causing to pass before us, some of our old favourites; and when he introduced us to Izaak Walton on the banks of the Lea, though we missed the inimitable charm of the honest angler's frank garrulity, we felt every disposition to cavil completely quelled. In one particular, he has succeeded, where the very superiority of his master would have disqualified for success. The heartless and unintellectual buffoonery of the court of Charles II. is represented to the life. The elaborate attempts at raising a joke, the cordial reception given to the emptiest and most barren jests, the license given to frolics too absurd for a schoolboy's mirth; all this is given with excellent tact, and here, we think, the higher genius would have failed.

The Hearts of Steel is a marked but not, we think, a happy imitation of the same master. The writer is, evidently, a man of talent, but he is not, on the whole, expert in the management of fictitious narrative and dialogue. He is forced and unnatural, and produces effect by violence, rather than by dexterity. He has a half-hanged hero and a half-ravished heroine; and the scenes in which they are represented as in the power of Forsythe, independently of a very unpleasant tinge of grossness, are worked up in the worst possible style of the vulgar horrific, and would have prodigious *éclat* in a new getting up of Three-fingered Jack. This novel is described in the preface, as one of a series intended to delineate 'the character, objects, and proceedings of each of the principal insurrectionary confederacies that have, for the last two hundred and fifty years, afflicted Ireland.' The 'Hearts of Steel' was the designation of 'a daring association,' formed in Ulster, during the earlier part of the late reign, for the purpose of resisting the attempts then making to introduce the oppressive system that has proved so injurious to the other provinces of Ireland. We could have wished that a different form had been chosen for the communication of the facts which the Writer has collected in illustration of the insurrectionary history of Ireland; since we are persuaded that they would have appeared to much greater advantage in the simple garb of truth, than in the ill-adjusted drapery of

fiction. The following statement, though not so exclusively original as the Author seems to think, is important.

‘The scenes of the history now submitted to the public, are, like those of “O’Halloran,” chiefly laid in the North of Ireland; but the transactions it narrates, are of a date thirty years anterior to those embraced by that work. The majority of the actors in both works belonged to the population of Ulster; the lower and middle classes of whom speak a dialect very similar to that spoken by the Scotch Lowlanders, from whom they are mostly descended. The more perceptible shades of difference between these dialects, consist in the tone and turn of the expression, and the structure of sentences, rather than in the pronunciation of the words, although in this there is also a frequent dissimilarity.

‘This is a fact relative to the language of nearly two millions of the people of Ireland, which seems scarcely to be known in other countries. Indeed, the degree of ignorance which Irishmen find to exist abroad, in relation to the character and condition of their country and its inhabitants, often surprises them, and, to such as have never travelled from their native island, is scarcely credible. It would seem as if no other idea could be entertained of an Irishman, than that of a rash, superstitious, although sometimes shrewd ignoramus, who can neither speak without making a bull, nor act without making a blunder. It is imagined that the Irish are all Papists and bog-trotters. It is forgot, or rather in most instances it is not known, that in the province of Ulster alone, nearly two millions of people, at least one-fourth of the population of the whole Island, are neither the one nor the other.

‘The characteristics of the immense population of Ulster seem, indeed, by some strange oversight, never to be taken into account by either orators, historians, or travellers, when speaking of Irishmen. The world is scarcely ever informed, that an industrious, prosperous, and intelligent race of men, equal in number to the whole population of Scotland, inhabit the Northern province of Ireland, who possess scarcely a single trait of character resembling that compound of turbulence, rudeness, ignorance, superstition, servility, and awkwardness, which, in the conception of foreigners, constitutes the half-civilized being called an Irishman.’ *Preface*, pp. vi.—viii.

‘Woodstock,’ although not equal to the more successful efforts of its gifted Author, is an interesting production, founded on the supposed remains of Rosamond’s Labyrinth, and on their equally suppositious application to the purposes of a shrewd machinator.

‘It is highly probable that a singular piece of phantasmagoria, which was certainly played off upon the commissioners of the Long Parliament, who were sent down to dispark and destroy Woodstock, after the death of Charles I., was conducted by means of the secret passages and recesses in the ancient Labyrinth of Rosamond, around which successive monarchs had erected a Hunting-seat or Lodge.

‘ There is a curious account of the disturbance given to those Honourable Commissioners, inserted by Doctor Plot in his Natural History of Oxfordshire. But, as I have not the book at hand, I can only allude to the work of the celebrated Glanville upon Witches, who has extracted it as a highly accredited narrative of supernatural dealings. The beds of the Commissioners, and their servants, were hoisted up till they were almost inverted, and then let down again so suddenly, as to menace them with broken bones. Unusual and horrible noises disturbed those sacrilegious intromitters with royal property. The devil, on one occasion, brought them a warming-pan; on another, pelted them with stones and horses bones. Tubs of water were emptied on them in their sleep; and so many other pranks of the same nature played at their expense, that they broke up house-keeping, and left their intended spoliation only half completed. The good sense of Dr. Plot suspected, that these feats were wrought by conspiracy and confederation, which Glanville of course endeavours to refute with all his might; for it could scarce be expected, that he who believed in so convenient a solution as that of supernatural agency, would consent to relinquish the service of a key which will answer any lock, however intricate. Nevertheless, it was afterwards discovered, that Dr. Plot was perfectly right; and that the only demon who wrought all these marvels, was a disguised royalist—a fellow called Trusty Joe, or some such name, formerly in the service of the Keeper of the Park, but who engaged in that of the Commissioners, on purpose to subject them to his persecution.’

The principal characters are taken from among the leading men of that eventful time. Cromwell and Charles II., the latter under the disguise of a Scots page, figure conspicuously in the scene, and are portrayed with the Author's accustomed force. The selfish libertinism of the prince is fairly enough exhibited, and his amiable qualities are made the most of, with an allowable partiality. The Protector is brought forward with much skill, and his humanity, intrepidity, and decision are displayed without reserve, though in other respects we can trace somewhat of a disposition to shew him off in a ridiculous point of view. The first interview between Oliver and Wildrake is vigorously sketched, and we should have transcribed part of it, had we not determined to make no extract from volumes which are likely to pass through the hands of so many of our readers. The subordinate characters are well managed, but, in some instances, such as those of Desborough and Harrison, the writer has indulged himself in caricature. The debauched cavalier is an admirable sketch, in which may be traced somewhat of a similar propensity. The old royalist is, we think, rather a failure; and the presbyterian hero, though, on the whole, a spirited delineation, too frequently prefers expediency to principle. The scene in which he recognises the monarch in the person of Louis Kerneguy, is excellent.

- Art. VII. 1. *A Revision and Explanation of Geographical and Hydrographical Terms.* With Descriptions of Winds, Storms, Clouds, Changes which take place in the Atmosphere, &c. By John Evans, Lieut. R. N. 12mo. pp. 179. Price 6s. Bristol, 1824.
2. *A Sketch of Ancient Geography.* By a Lady. 12mo. pp. 166. London, 1826.
3. *A Concise View of Ancient Geography.* By W. H. Bond. Maps. 12mo. pp. 68. Price 4s. 6d. London. 1826.

WE have put these small volumes together, for the purpose of saying briefly of the second and third, that they will be found serviceable in the business of education. The second is the more comprehensive: the third is designed as an introduction to Dr. Butler's well known work on the same subject.

Mr. Evans's is a more original production: it must have cost him much pains, and requires that we dismiss it with somewhat more of ceremony, than the preceding useful but mechanical compilations. The frequent occurrence and uncertain application of hydrographical terms, is at times a matter of annoyance to those who, like ourselves, have only a landsman's knowledge of nautical affairs; and we strongly recommend this very excellent manual as a sufficient and interesting guide. We shall support our opinion by an extract or two.

#### ‘ ROCKS.

‘ Roc. Roche. *French.* Rocca. *Italian.* Johnson.

‘ Are insulated masses of stone rising above the surface of the ocean.

‘ They are very dangerous to vessels when but a few feet above the sea, and more so when even with its surface at a distance from land.

‘ Sunken Rocks are those which lie beneath the surface of the sea, and are still more to be dreaded by seamen than either of the others, as there is, frequently, nothing to indicate their presence.

‘ The charts in general use are studded with doubtful rocks, shoals and islands, said to have been discovered by various mariners, which have the term *Vigie*\* applied to many of them.

‘ These undetermined dangers, whether they have existence or not, keep the minds of navigators ever on the alert, and, on this account, perhaps, their supposed sites on the chart may be useful. But although we might suppose that the vessels of Maritime Europe have navigated sufficiently every part of the Atlantic, so as to have left no portion of it unknown, yet we find the same caution now

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\* A French word, signifying the *watch* (at sea) corresponding with our “look out.”

thought requisite, which was practised by the early Dutch and Spanish navigators; to whose reports, perhaps, we may correctly attribute most of these doubtful dangers.

‘That many of these spots have existence, seems very probable; and, perhaps, it would be imprudent to be incredulous upon so nice a point, as it is better to undergo a little trouble in using due precaution on approaching their supposed situations, than to run the hazard of encountering peril from a careless disregard of them.

‘To shew the propriety of such conduct, we may adduce the circumstance respecting the authentication of the existence of the Esquirques in the Mediterranean, which, for a long time were considered doubtful, yet, at last proved fatal to his Majesty’s ship, *Athenienne*, 64, her excellent captain, and the greater part of the officers and crew, in the year 1806.

‘We have been informed that Captain Rainsford had doubted the existence of these rocks, from the circumstance of having cruised near the supposed position, some time previous, when commanding a brig of war, without having seen any thing that indicated such to be there. When his ship struck on them, he was examining the chart, and pointing out to his master and an officer of the army, their supposed position, observing that, if they had existence, the ship must then be close to them.

‘The Esquirques were determined by the survey of Captain Durban, R.N. to be in latitude  $37^{\circ} 47'$  N. and longitude  $10^{\circ} 46' 30''$  E. They are now found to consist of two reefs of very large rocks, bearing strong marks of being volcanic productions; and lying two miles north and south of each other.

‘As the subject is one of great interest, we shall further enlarge upon it by the addition of some instances of the fortuitous discovery of other marine dangers of the same description.

‘In the Crooked-Island passage, which had been the common route of our homeward-bound Jamaica fleets for many years, an isolated rock was discovered in 1807, by the *Chesterfield* Packet having accidentally struck upon it, when under the convoy of the *Bellona* Government Schooner, commanded by the late Mr. Edgecombe.

‘His Majesty’s ship, *Medusa*, Captain Sir John Gore, struck upon a rock situated in the sea near Gibraltar, but which had been long considered doubtful: a similar circumstance to that related of Captain Rainsford, is told, on this occasion, of Sir John Gore. He was standing on the gang-way when his ship struck, and had just before observed to Mr. Smith, the master, that, if the Rock existed in the spot indicated by the chart, they could not be far from it.’

pp. 59—61.

From the second division, we shall extract a part of the article ‘Hurricane.’ After having given some curious calculations, made on this subject by Sir Home Popham, Mr. Evans relates from MS. authorities, the following details.

‘The Hurricane experienced by H. M. S. *Centaur*, Captain H. Whitby, was in latitude  $26^{\circ} 17'$  N. and in longitude  $57^{\circ} 42'$  W. the

island of Barbadoes bearing S. 8° W. distant 262 leagues: wind from E. N. E. to S. S. W. 29th July, 1805.

“On the 27th and 28th, the wind was variable: on the first of those days squally, on the latter moderate and cloudy. At six P.M. on the 29th, the breeze freshened, and gradually increased to a Hurricane, which lasted until day-light of the 30th; during which time the ship was in a most perilous situation, having lost her main and mizen masts, fore-top-mast, &c., and making eight feet water an hour. It is impossible for language to describe the force with which the wind blew, the high and breaking seas that washed over the ship, or the gloomy and awful state of the weather on this occasion: the most ingenious effort of the pencil, and the most forcible language of description, must alike fall very far short of conveying to the mind an adequate idea of this storm. The ship was saved, under Providence, by the physical strength of the fine company of marines that were on board, by the superior skill of the captain, and the exertions of the other officers and men. The wind ultimately settled in the S. W. quarter, and the ship was towed in her shattered condition to Halifax, Nova Scotia, by H. M. S. Eagle, Captain Colby.”

“The Hurricane in which the *Dædalus*, Lark, and Moselle suffered, was in the vicinity of the Mona Passage, between Porto Rico and St. Domingo.

“On the 3d August 1809, Cape Roxo bearing E. by N. three leagues, it was first felt by the *Dædalus*. The wind on the 2d was variable and fresh from N. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. to E. N. E. and east, and the atmosphere hazy. At half-past eight P.M. on the 2d, the gale commenced with very dark and gloomy weather, and bright flashes of lightning in the S. E. quarter, without thunder: at nine, it had increased to a heavy gale, with a very high sea: after midnight, the squalls of wind were tremendous, accompanied with rain and lightning, still without thunder. The bow-sprit, fore-mast, main, and mizen top-masts having gone over the side, several fruitless attempts were made to wear the ship, when at last, most fortunately falling broad off, she was, by skilful management, kept before the wind and sea, a short time only before the former shifted to the S. E. by S. quarter, and thus she was saved from a lee-shore full of banks and shallows. At noon of the 3d, the latitude was 17° 31' N. and longitude 68° 33' W. Altavella, on the south side of St. Domingo, bearing west, 170 miles. The ship must inevitably have been lost, if the wind had shifted on the evening of the 2d to the S. or S. W. as was expected and dreaded, having sounded in six fathoms water off Cape Roxo the afternoon of that day. The Lark, less fortunate than the *Dædalus*, foundered with her excellent captain (R. Nicholas), officers and crew, except two, who were saved in an extraordinary manner by being picked up at night by the Moselle.” *M.S. Journal.*

“It may be observed, as the opinion of experienced seamen in these seas, that lightning unaccompanied with thunder is a sure indication that a gale of wind will increase to a Hurricane; on the contrary, if thunder follows the lightning, the gale may be expected to break.

'The most southern Hurricane experienced in the Caribbean Sea, was in the vicinity of Santa Martha, but it was considerably less violent than those which happen further to the north, among the islands.' pp. 116—118.

The graphical illustrations are numerous, distinct, and as well executed, perhaps, as the nature of the work requires.

Art. VIII. 1. *A few Thoughts on the Abolition of Colonial Slavery.* By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews. 8vo. pp. 16. Price 6d. Glasgow, 1826.

2. *On Cruelty to Animals:* a Sermon, preached in Edinburgh on the 5th of March, 1826. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. &c. 8vo. pp. 40. Price 1s. 6d. Glasgow, 1826.

'IT is much to be regretted,' Dr. Chalmers says, 'that the abolitionists and the planters have hitherto stood at such an impracticable distance from each other; and more especially, that a whole class of men, comprising in it many humane and accomplished individuals, should have had such an indiscriminate stigma affixed to them by the most intemperate advocates of the cause.'

That, among the West India *proprietors*, resident and non-resident, there are many humane and accomplished individuals, many who regret the existence of slavery, and are anxious, by all the means in their power, to meliorate its evils,—it would be most unjust to deny. But whose fault is it, that they and the abolitionists have seemed to be at variance? It is impossible that such humane and accomplished persons could be ignorant, that the abolitionists comprise prelates and noblemen, statesmen and patriots, whose motives in the part they have taken are unimpeachable, and against whom the charge of enthusiasm cannot lie. They cannot have shut their eyes to the fact, that the preponderance of talent and of moral worth, as well as the strong current of national feeling, has been on the side of the abolitionists. They could not mistake for a clamour, the reiterated and solemn decision of the British legislature. It must have been very annoying and painful, then, to these humane and accomplished persons, to find the West India party with which they were identified, taxing their opponents with fanaticism, cant, malignity, falsehood, hypocrisy. Respecting, as they could not fail to do, the motives of the philanthropists, and honouring their zeal, even if they differed from them in judgement, they must have been greatly concerned to find their colleagues and agents assailing the

characters of such men as Mr. Wilberforce, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Buxton, and Mr. Brougham with vulgar and malignant abuse as enthusiasts and drivellers.

Yet, these humane and accomplished individuals have, year after year, been compelled to listen to the abuse poured on the abolitionists by their own friends; and by their silence, they have seemed to accord in sentiment, though not in spirit and temper, with the more loud-mouthed abettors of the West India system. To a certain extent, they have probably been deceived and carried away by the bold representations of the slavery party. If not deceived, they have been neutralized. What has been worse, *their* humanity has been made a shield and cover for the inhumanity of others; *their* respectability of character has been pleaded in defence or extenuation of a system of cruelty and wickedness which they were not willing parties in upholding; and thus, an 'indiscriminate stigma' has been affixed to these estimable individuals, because they have seemed to stand at an 'impracticable' and haughty distance from the men who had enlisted in this most holy cause.

We agree with Dr. Chalmers; this is greatly to be regretted, —although we do not perceive that it supplies any proof of intemperance in the advocates of the cause. If men of humanity tacitly uphold that which is inhuman, if accomplished men are unfortunately associated in a bad cause with men of a character opposite to their own,—they must submit to have their public conduct so far stigmatised. When we speak of the abettors of Popery, we must of necessity speak of a class comprising many accomplished and pious individuals;—but, wherever the stigma may fall, the system deserves no quarter. And when we speak of slavery, it must be in the same way.

Dr. Chalmers has gone to the opposite extreme,—the most amiable one, we admit; only that, in attempting to wipe away the stigma from the whole class, because it comprises many humane and accomplished individuals, he inadvertently casts an imputation on another larger class, whose humanity is at least somewhat more apparent than that of their opponents.

'On the part of the Abolitionists, there is a frequent appeal to the abstract and original principles of the question. But on the part of the proprietors, it may be asked, Who ought to be at the expense of reforming the mischief that has arisen from the violation of these principles?—whether the traders who have hitherto acted under the sanction and the shelter of existing laws, or the government that framed these laws?—whether the party that have been lured into a commerce which they found to be tolerated and protected by the state, or the party that, by this very toleration, may be said to have given their promise and their authority in its favour?—whether the

children who have been misled, or the parent who has misled them?—whether, in a word, the men who have been singled out for the execration of the public, or that same public, under whose observation, and by whose connivance, the property that they would now seize upon has been legalized, and its present possessors have made their sacrifices of time, and labour, and money to obtain it? It were a noble achievement, this conversion of slaves into freemen; and therefore the more important for its ultimate success, that in every step of its prosecution there should be an even-handed justice to all the parties concerned. More especially, would it serve to accredit the philanthropy that is now so widely and so warmly embarked upon this undertaking, did they who advocate its designs also bear their part in the expenses of them; and it would do much to allay the fermentation that now is among the West India planters, could they have any satisfying demonstration from Parliament, that, however intent on the emancipation of their slaves, it should be so devised and carried into effect as not to infringe on the present worth of their patrimony.'

Now it will be obvious, that this whole passage would have done quite as well, twenty years ago, as an apology for the abettors of the slave-trade; and when the Professor speaks of persons being '*lured* into a commerce which they found to be 'tolerated and protected by the state,' he uses language similar to what was then employed in arguing for the continuance of that accursed traffic. But the whole argument proceeds on a misapprehension—and therefore involves a misrepresentation—of the conduct of the abolitionists. It is not fair to represent them as 'singling out any men for the execration of the public:' they have not done this. They have shewn no disposition to disregard the claims of an 'even-handed justice,' much less to '*seize*' upon legalised property. These are aspersions which they could not expect to have had cast upon them from the chair of moral philosophy at Aberdeen. Dr. Chalmers is sure—he vouches for it—that the West India planters would no longer oppose the disuse of the whip, the rejection of negro evidence, the introduction of marriage, the observance of the sabbath, the preaching of the missionaries, and the melioration of the moral condition of the slaves,—if they could be convinced that these most superfluous and Utopian innovations would not lessen the *present worth of their patrimony*!! These much injured, unjustly stigmatised, humane, and accomplished friends of Dr. Chalmers have no objection to emancipation itself,—provided that it do not affect the price of sugar, or provided that the abolitionists will 'take part in the expenses' of such unwise experiments.

But Dr. Chalmers has a plan—and we rejoice to say, that though he prefers his own project to the measures of either Lord

Bathurst or Mr. Buxton, he is still at heart a friend to emancipation.

'The following suggestion is the more valuable that it hath come from a gentleman who is himself a very extensive West India proprietor; and that, while it holds out a complete remuneration to the owners of slaves, promises the conveyance of them into a state of freedom with a speed and a safety that ought to satisfy the most sanguine abolitionist.

'The scheme may be expressed generally thus:—Let Government purchase from the West India proprietors, at a fair valuation, one day's labour in the week of all the slaves in their possession. This can be done by paying one-sixth of their whole price; after which, each slave hath at least one day every week, in which he is a free labourer, and might earn for himself. He of course becomes the absolute owner of what he thus earns; and let it be competent for him, when it has accumulated to a sufficient sum, therewith to purchase, at a certain regulated price, another free day in the week. Having thus two days to himself, he is able to accelerate his future purchases of freedom; and thus, as the fruit of his own industry and care, might he, in a very few years, work out his complete emancipation.'

We should be sorry to throw cold water on any scheme of so much 'theoretical beauty;' but it strikes us, that, till the repose of the seventh day be legally secured to the slaves, it would be quite inexpedient for Government to purchase for them another holiday. Till the slave's claims to the sabbath be recognised, it is not probable that his right to another day thus conferred upon him would be respected. Moreover, we could not forbear smiling at the simplicity with which the Professor sets it down, that the slave, in such a case, '*of course*' becomes the absolute 'owner of what he thus earns.' Of course! Why, before Dr. Chalmers's beautiful theory could have its 'experimental soundness' established, the whole system of colonial legislation must be renovated or abolished.

As we are on the subject, we must beg leave to recommend to our readers, a very interesting series of tracts on Negro Slavery, (published, we believe, by the Anti-Slavery Society,) of which Nos. 13, 14 and 15 are now before us. It is not a little singular, that while one clergyman of the Church of England, the curate of Burton upon Trent, has recently undertaken the defence of West India Slavery, as consistent with the Gospel of Jesus Christ,—(taking, apparently, his religion from the Lord Chancellor, who says that he takes his from the bishops,)—another clergyman, the curate of Port-royal in Jamaica, and an eye-witness of the horrors he describes, has furnished one more unimpeachable testimony to the iniquities and dangers of the system. Mr. Bickell's volume, entitled "The West

Indies as they are," has not yet reached us; but we shall insert a few specimens as given in No. XIV. of the Tracts alluded to.

"Slavery," he remarks, "is confessedly one of the greatest evils that ever was inflicted on the human race, and has been considered as the greatest curse by all nations, in all ages of the world." (p. 1.) "It was reserved for modern times, for men calling themselves Christians, and nations professing the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus, to carry this heaviest curse inflicted on the human race to its highest pitch." (p. 3.)—(Of this system, some of the harsher and more cruel features may have been done away. "Still, however, much remains to be done, both in a physical and a religious point of view, before the Negroes can be said to approximate to even the lowest and worst paid poor of the British Islands." (p. 4.)—"The great body of the colonists, with very few exceptions, look upon the Negroes as beings every way inferior to the Whites; and this is one great cause of their ill treatment and being deprived of many little privileges which, I think, might with perfect safety be granted them." (p. 8.) "They look upon the Blacks (to be) as much beneath themselves, as the brutes are beneath the Negroes; they think them hardly capable of religious impressions, and almost insensible to punishment. This is one great reason of their depressed state and frequent rigorous treatment." (p. 197.) "These illiberal opinions," he adds, "I can positively assert, are adopted and held by a great part of the colonists of the present day."

"Another of the evils of slavery is, that the slaves are so degraded and depressed in the eye of the law as not to be considered persons, but mere animals or chattels; so that they can be sold, not only at the will and pleasure of their masters or owners, to any other person, at any part of the island, but can be seized and sold for debt, by a writ of execution, and exposed for sale at a public auction to the best bidder. Many a bitter cry is heard when the marshal's deputies (dogs as they are emphatically called) are sent to hunt down and seize the victim or victims, and drive or drag them away to the work-house or gaol, till the day of sale arrives, which is to deprive them of their little homes, the gardens they have cultivated, the acquaintances they have made, and all the little comforts which make even slavery, in some measure, tolerable. This hardship is much increased when slaves are married or have families, as the woman may be separated from her husband, or parents from their children; for here the tenderest ties of nature are broken in an instant, and the wife's, or mother's, or children's cries would not be in the least attended to, nor heeded, any more than the moans of so many (brute) animals."

"The distress and terror among a gang of Negroes, when the marshal's deputy, with his dogs and other assistants, comes to levy in a large way, cannot be conceived by those who, happily for themselves, have never been spectators of such scenes, and can scarcely be described by those who have witnessed them. I was once on a coffee-mountain, on which were about seventy or eighty Negroes. The proprietor was much in debt, and was aware that one or two of

his largest creditors had for some time wished to make a levy on his slaves to pay themselves; but by keeping his gates locked, and the fences round the dwelling-house and Negro-houses in good repair, he had hitherto baffled the Argus-eyed deputy and his deputies. The night after I arrived on the property, however, I was awaked, about an hour before day-light, by a great noise, as of arms, with cries of women and children. In a few minutes a private servant came to my window, and informed me that it was the marshal's deputies making a levy on the Negroes, and that the noise proceeded from the clashing of weapons; for some of the slaves, he said, had stoutly resisted. I then alarmed my friend, and we determined to go out to see that no improper use was made of the tremendous power given to these Cerberuses. By the time we arrived at the Negro-houses, the resistance had ceased; for the Negroes being divided, had been overcome by the myrmidons of the law. One poor fellow, however, was being dragged along like a thief by a fierce and horrid-looking Irishman, who had been one of M'Gregor's freebooters, and who, when we came near, grasped his victim more tightly, and brandished his broadsword over the poor creature with the grin and growl of a demon.

“Many of the men escaped from the property; and some few others, with some women, secreted themselves among the coffee-trees, till the party had gone off with their prey. They secured, however, ten or twelve men, and many of the women and children, amounting in the whole to between thirty and forty, who were huddled together on the outside of the principal fence, and presented such a heart-rending scene as I never witnessed before, and should be very sorry ever to witness again. Some of the children had lost their mothers, and some of the mothers had been torn away from a part of their children; for some of the little urchins also escaped. One woman in particular, a housewoman, had six or seven children; two or three of them were seized, and the others escaped; but the youngest, an infant, had been caught, and she wept aloud and very bitterly for it, saying, that she must give herself up, if the child was not got back, for she could not live separated from it. There was many a bitter cry and sad lament among the women and children, for they loved their master, who was kind, and had excellent provision-grounds for them; but most of the men were dogged and sullen, and only wanted arms to obtain their freedom from the savage Whites and their associates, who now guarded them. As it was, two or three of the poor fellows were wounded; and I was assured by a free Brown man, who was looking after the property in the master's absence, that had the proprietor been there, there would have been sad work, and very likely murder; for it was an illegal levy, and the resistance would have been desperate under their master's eye and voice. They were tied together, or hand-cuffed, and driven off the same morning to Spanish-town gaol, a distance of twenty miles; but as they had been seized before sun-rise, and the fence had been also broken through, both of which are illegal, the owner obtained their enlargement shortly after, and they were allowed to go back to the spot they loved.

I might here remark, that the labour is much lighter on a coffee-mountain than on a sugar estate, and that the Negroes are not required to be up so much at night, to pick and cure coffee, as they are to make sugar; where, therefore, they have good provision-grounds, as they had on this mountain I have been speaking of, they are much more comfortable and less harassed than on a sugar-estate.”

The following will serve to illustrate the feasibility of Dr. Chalmers's plan.

“All the field slaves are allowed by the law of the island, every other Saturday out of crop-time, and some extra days after crop, to make up the number of twenty-six days in the year, when they are to labour in their grounds to raise provisions for their subsistence. Crop-time means the time that the mill is at work for grinding canes to make sugar, and this generally lasts from Christmas to June or July; so that the slaves get only from fourteen to sixteen days in the year, besides a few extra days after crop, in which to work their grounds, and on many estates and plantations they get no extra days at all; so that these few days being wholly insufficient, the Sundays are intruded on; and the Sabbath, therefore, is with most a day of labour, instead of a day of rest.

“This is certainly a hardship, and shews that the object of the planters is to obtain the greatest quantity of labour possible.”

“The time of labour for the slaves, generally, is from sun-rising to sun-setting; viz. from five o'clock to seven, one half the year, and from six to six, or thereabout, the other half. They are generally summoned from their slumbers by the cracking of the driver's whip, about half an hour before day-light: which whip, as it is pretty long and heavy, makes the valleys resound and the welkin ring with its alarming sounds, and woe be to the hapless slave who does not lend a willing ear and speedy footsteps to its repeated calls.” “If he be absent at roll-call, the judge, juror, and executioner, all stand by him in the shape of an inexorable driver, and, without any defence or leave of appeal, he is subjected to the lash. Nor will a trifling excuse serve the Black female:” “she makes the best of her way to take her place, her unequal share of the task, by the strong-armed and stout-made man, in the well dressed-up rank of the gang. Should she be too late, her sex and slender form, or gentler nature, will not avail; but as if devoid of feeling, she is laid down by force, and punished with many stripes on those parts which shall be nameless for me, but which in women, for decency's sake, ought never to be exposed. Surely nature is outraged at such devilish indelicacies.”

“I am aware that there is a law in Jamaica, imposing a fine on proprietors or overseers, for compelling the Negroes to do certain kinds of labour on the Sabbath; but it is notorious that this law is altogether a dead letter; and that with respect to their grounds, the Negroes not only go of their own accord to work there, as not having sufficient time allowed them otherwise, but, if they are found inattentive, it is a custom to send one of the book-keepers, on that holy

day, to see that all the slaves are at work, and to watch them a certain time that there may not be a want of food.”

“The goodness of the Almighty, in ordaining every seventh day a day of rest from labour, was of the greatest consequence to man, even in a temporal point of view, as most of the human race are labourers. That Omniscient Eye which looks into futurity, and has weighed the hearts of all men in a balance, foresaw that when men multiplied upon the earth, the powerful would oppress the weak, and that the rich would require perpetual labour from the poor; that this fatigue of the body would weigh down the soul, and destroy or very much diminish the powers of the mind; he therefore, in his own time, commanded the Sabbath to be kept holy, that man, who is in part an immortal creature, might reverence and worship his Creator, learn the nature and value of his being, and with fear and trembling, but in humble reliance, prepare for that never-ending state of eternity for which he was at first destined.

“By the Israelites, under the covenant of works, the seventh day was very strictly kept, and the Sabbath-breaker was commanded to be stoned to death, by a statute of Levitical Law. The Ten Commandments have lost none of their force under the covenant of grace, or Christian dispensation, and the Sabbath has been kept strictly and religiously, by most Christians, in all ages of the church of Christ. Yet, in the West-Indian colonies, planted by Christian nations, and particularly in Jamaica, the largest colony of highly-favoured and Christian Britain, the Sabbath is worse kept than by Turks themselves. It is not enough that most of the slaves must work in their grounds a part of that holy day, but, to add to the abomination, a market must be kept also on the Sunday, for the sale of provisions, vegetables, fruit, &c. It is the only market-day which the poor Negroes and Coloured Slaves have; and, instead of worshipping their God, they are either cultivating their portions of land to preserve life, or trudging like mules with heavy loads, five, ten, or even twenty miles to a market, to sell the little surplus of their provision-grounds, or to barter it for a little salt fish to season their poor meals; or, what is much worse, to spend, very often, the value in new destructive rum, which intoxicates them, and drowns for a short time the reflection that they are despised and burthened Slaves.

“I shall never forget the horror and disgust which I felt on going on shore, for the first time, in Kingston, in the month of August, 1819; it was on a Sunday, and I had to pass by the Negro market, where several thousands of human beings, of various nations and colours, but principally Negroes, instead of worshipping their Maker on his holy day, were busily employed in all kinds of traffic in the open streets. Here were Jews with shops and standings as at a fair, selling old and new clothes, trinkets, and small wares at cent. per cent. to adorn the Negro person; there were low Frenchmen and Spaniards, and people of Colour, in petty shops and with stalls; some selling their bad rum, gin, tobacco, &c; others, salt provisions and small articles of dress; and many of them bartering with the Slave, or purchasing his surplus provisions to retail again; poor free people

and servants also, from all parts of the city, to purchase vegetables, &c. for the following week. The different noises and barbarous tongues recalled to one's memory the confusion of Babel; but the drunkenness of some, with the imprecations and obscenities of others, put one in mind rather of a pandemonium, or residence of devils. Surely the gates or entrances to this city, instead of being entrances which lead to solemn temples, or gates of heaven, as they should be in a Christian country and on a Christian Sabbath, are much more like gates directing to the broad way that leadeth to destruction, that leadeth to hell itself."

We must make room for one more extract.

"Were the colonists inclined of themselves to make any material and beneficial changes in their slave code, neither the British government nor British people would think of interfering; but experience teaches us, that their professions, with respect to their slaves, are unmeaning and empty, and that even the few concessions that have been wrung from them, are not *bona fide* fulfilled. Witness their compelling them to labour in their grounds, and permitting them to make sugar on Sundays. Witness their not allowing them time to attend the places of worship (the pretended chapels, which were never built) for moral and religious instruction. Witness the non-redress of their just complaints for severity and cruelty of punishment. Witness their throwing numerous obstacles in the way of individual emancipation. Witness their preventing those of the curates who wished to attend on some of the estates, to preach and catechise, from doing so, and thereby shutting the doors of instruction on the poor Slaves altogether!

"It must be plain to every impartial person, indeed, that the colonists do not wish or intend to lighten the hardships of their slaves, or grant them any privileges, if it be likely to lessen their income: their principal object is to keep them in total ignorance, and to compel them to raise the greatest possible quantity of produce; for they calculate thus—'If we do away with the Sunday market, there must be more time given to the slaves, and our crops will fall short: if we allow them to be instructed, it will take a little more time, and the Negroes will also know too much to be content.' They therefore do, and will, oppose all interference by the British Parliament, because they wish, and intend at all hazards, to keep the slaves and their descendants in perpetual bondage. It will be for the British government to determine, if such a cruel and impolitic system shall be allowed to go on, to the shame and outrage of religion and humanity, and to the risk of so great a loss to the British crown."

Mr. Bickell rejoices in the appointment of West India bishops; but he is sure that they will never see what he has seen: they will never be admitted behind the scenes.

Much will depend upon the character of the parliament about to be elected. In the prospect of that event, we cannot refrain from again earnestly recommending that every means

should be used of disseminating correct information on the subject. These tracts are admirably adapted for the purpose, and are well worthy of being circulated with quarterly and monthly extracts of missionary proceedings. It is not a political question, and even the pulpit, therefore, would not be desecrated by adverting to the claims of the unhappy victims of Colonial Slavery. And more especially, when men are to be found in the garb of clergymen, like Lord Torphichen's chaplain, arguing in favour of Negro Slavery as a Divine appointment, it is time that the public were put on their guard against such teachers and such doctrine.

It is our hope and belief, that Dr. Chalmers's tract on Slavery will not do much harm, nor will his sermon on cruelty to animals, we fear, do much good. It is more laboured and less efficient than any theological production we have ever seen from his pen. He tells us of the dying agonies of *animalculæ*, 'shrouded darkly and densely from observation,' till he makes us shudder at a glass of water, and feel as uncomfortable as the Brahman after he had peeped through the microscope. He affirms, what he certainly cannot prove, that brute animals are furnished with a 'sentient apparatus' precisely the same as in man. 'Theirs,' he says, 'is unmixed and unmitigated pain—the agonies of martyrdom, without the alleviation of the hopes and the sentiments whereof they are incapable!'—As if bodily pain were the acme of human suffering! The unlawfulness of field sports and prize-fighting, the Professor 'refrains from elaborating;' but he dwells at length on the inhumanity of butchers and cooks, occasioned by the demands and discoveries of a refined epicurism. We should have expected from Dr. Chalmers something better than this on such a text: 'A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast.' As the concluding paragraphs will bear *à fortiori* on the subject of cruelty to *human* animals,—those, we mean, who are regarded and treated as such,—we shall make room for their insertion.

It may be thought by some, that we have wasted the whole of this sabbath morn, on what may be ranked among but the lesser moralities of human conduct. But there is one aspect, in which it may be regarded as more profoundly and more peculiarly religious than any one virtue which reciprocates, or is of mutual operation among the fellows of the same species. It is a virtue which oversteps, as it were, the limits of a species, and which, in this instance, prompts a descending movement, on our part, of righteousness and mercy towards those who have an inferior place to ourselves in the scale of creation. The lesson of this day is not the circulation of benevolence within the limits of one species. It is the transmission of it from one species to another. The first is but the charity of a world.

The second is the charity of a universe. Had there been no such charity, no descending current of love and of liberality from species to species, what, I ask, should have become of ourselves? Whence have we learned this attitude of lofty unconcern about the creatures who are beneath us? Not from those ministering spirits who wait upon the heirs of salvation. Not from those angels who circle the throne of heaven, and make all its arches ring with joyful harmony, when but one sinner of this prostrate world turns his footsteps towards them. Not from that mighty and mysterious visitant, who unrobed Him of all his glories, and bowed down his head unto the sacrifice, and still, from the seat of his now exalted mediatorship, pours forth his intercessions and his calls in behalf of the race he died for. Finally, not from the eternal Father of all, in the pavilion of whose residence there is the golden treasury of all those bounties and beatitudes that roll over the face of nature, and from the footstool of whose empyreal throne there reaches a golden chain of providence to the very humblest of his family. He who hath given his angels charge concerning us, means that the tide of beneficence should pass from order to order through all the ranks of his magnificent creation; and we ask, is it with man that this goodly provision is to terminate?—or shall he, with all his sensations of present blessedness, and all his visions of future glory let down upon him from above, shall he turn him selfishly and scornfully away from the rights of those creatures whom God hath placed in dependence under him? We know that the cause of poor and unfriended animals has many an obstacle to contend with in the difficulties or the delicacies of legislation. But we shall ever deny that it is a theme beneath the dignity of legislation; or that the nobles and the senators of our land stoop to a cause which is degrading, when, in the imitation of heaven's high clemency, they look benignly downward on these humble and helpless sufferers. Ere we can admit this, we must forget the whole economy of our blessed gospel. We must forget the legislations and the cares of the upper sanctuary in behalf of our fallen species. We must forget that the redemption of our world is suspended on an act of jurisprudence which angels desired to look into, and for effectuating which, the earth we tread upon was honoured by the footsteps, not of angel or of archangel, but of God manifest in the flesh. The distance upward between us and that mysterious Being, who let himself down from heaven's high concave upon our lowly platform, surpasses by infinity the distance downward between us and every thing that breathes. And he bowed himself thus far for the purpose of an example, as well as for the purpose of an expiation; that every Christian might extend his compassionate regards over the whole of sentient and suffering nature. The high court of Parliament is not degraded by its attentions and its cares in behalf of inferior creatures, else the Sanctuary of Heaven has been degraded by its councils in behalf of the world we occupy, and in the execution of which the Lord of heaven himself relinquished the highest seat of glory in the universe, and went forth to sojourn for a time on this outcast and accursed territory.' pp. 37—40.

Art. IX. *A Missionary's Memorial ; or Verses on the Death of John Lawson, late Missionary at Calcutta.* By Bernard Barton. pp. 24. Price 1s. London. 1826.

**T**HIS, we think one of the happiest effusions of Mr. Barton's pen, which is certainly that of a 'ready writer.' The occasion of the verses has evidently interested and excited him, and the memorial which he has furnished, on the spur of the call made upon him, is worthy of the theme. Mr. Lawson's name is well known to most of our readers. Mr. Barton has with equal delicacy and propriety alluded to his poetical productions ; but it is the Missionary, rather than the writer or the man, that is the subject of the verse. We transcribe the opening stanzas.

' When the stern chieftain of the feudal age  
Forsook his castle for the tented field,  
Rous'd by that Eremite, whose holy rage  
For Salem's outrag'd sanctities appeal'd ;  
If death in such a cause his triumph seal'd,  
His exit fail'd not sympathy to claim ;  
His fellow-warriors of the red-cross shield  
Challeng'd due honours for the hero's name,  
While minstrel harpers sang the bold Crusader's fame.

' And when sad tidings from the Holy Land  
Brought to his native shores the mournful tale,  
That the departed warrior's helm and brand  
No more should gleam in battle, nor the gale  
Bid his broad banner turn the foeman pale ;  
Think not his memory in oblivion slept :—  
Though they who mourn'd knew grief could nought avail,  
His household sorrow'd, and his kindred wept,  
And many a faithful heart his stern remembrance kept.

' The mass was said, the dirge was duly sung,  
Though distant far the red-cross warrior's bier ;  
His deeds in arms were told to rouse the young,  
Like him in battle-field to know not fear ;  
His fall was marked by beauty's silent tear,  
His name enroll'd in legendary song ;  
And every honour chivalry held dear,  
Was given to rescue from the nameless throng  
The CHAMPION OF THE CROSS, the valiant, and the strong.

' When He, the exil'd Eagle-Emperor, died,  
Throneless and crownless in his rocky isle,  
Encircled by the ever-tossing tide  
Whose waters lave that melancholy pile,  
Oh ! who but mourn'd his destiny the while ?  
Or when Greece wept o'er Byron's early tomb,  
How many a youthful brow its wonted smile

Awhile forbore, to share the general gloom,  
To mourn the wayward CHILDE's, the Bard's untimely doom.

‘ There is a deathless principle enshrin’d  
In every heart, which prompts, howe’er we roam,  
The wish, with natural feelings interwin’d,  
Still to return, and die in peace *at home* :  
Though poor the fare, and humble be the dome  
Which there await us,—to that cherished spot  
Remembrance turns ;—’mid ocean’s billowy foam  
The exile’s home-born joys are unforget,  
Such joys once more to taste, he prays may be his lot.

‘ And hence, when reading of self-exil’d men  
Who close in distant lands their languid eyes,  
That feeling which defies alike the pen  
Or pencil to portray its mysteries ;  
Which opes the source of gentlest sympathies,  
And bids us of such exiles’ lot enquire  
The cherish’d hope which made them sacrifice  
What we ourselves so ardently desire,  
And risk in climes remote ’mid strangers to expire.

‘ Oh ! then a HOWARD’S self-devoting zeal  
In its full force is felt and understood ;  
The spirit comprehends its pure appeal,  
And o’er its hallow’d influence loves to brood,  
Until his meek example prompts a mood  
Of kindred feeling, a resolve as high,  
Like him to sacrifice for general good  
Each individual and social tie,  
For all mankind to live, or for mankind to die.

‘ Nor less resistless the appeal awoke  
By his example who can all resign,  
To take upon himself a Saviour’s yoke,  
And bear the cross once borne by Love Divine ;  
Who climbs the bark which far o’er ocean’s brine  
Wafts him from country, home, and friends belov’d,  
In polar latitudes, o’er tropic line :—  
His only hope, by fears, by toils unmov’d,  
Men’s souls to win to God, and be by God approv’d.

‘ Shall such, unnotic’d, mingle with the dust !  
Forbid it, human nature ! Gospel Love !  
The CHURCH their hallow’d memories takes in trust ;  
Their honour’d names are register’d above ;—  
Where’er, its wings expanding like the dove,  
The HOLY SPIRIT takes its flight untir’d,  
Where’er the name of CHRIST the heart can move,  
Where’er THE CROSS is borne, THE CROWN desired,  
Their labours should be own’d, their Christian zeal admired.’

Art. X. *The Philosophy of Religion; or, an Illustration of the Moral Laws of the Universe.* By Thomas Dick. 12mo. pp. 638. Price 9s. Glasgow. 1826.

**I**F the substance of this volume had not, in some degree, abated our critical irritation, we should feel very much inclined to quarrel with its title. There is, at the present moment, a prevailing fashion of giving high-sounding names to all sorts of things, whether low or lofty, and their application is sometimes exquisitely grotesque. Our neighbours give the title of 'artist' to shoe-blacks and hair-dressers; and it was but the other day that our tailor assured us, that he cut out an unmentionable department of our dress, by the 'scientific method.' One way in which this whimsical system unfolds itself, is by parading the term 'philosophy' under all imaginable circumstances, and in every variety of association. We have the Philosophy of Painting, the Philosophy of Medicine, the Philosophy of Cookery; and though there is much affectation and absurdity in all this, we pass it by for the sake of good health and good eating. But when the perversion gains ground, and manifests a disposition to thrust itself into higher and more important places, it becomes necessary to *try the right*, and to bring an action of trespass against the intruder.

We profess ourselves quite unable to understand what is meant by the 'Philosophy of Religion.' Religion is itself the highest philosophy. If the connexion between the two be all that is meant, the terms fail in conveying the intention. If it be designed to exhibit the identity of principle which pervades the Christian system and the economy of the universe, it must undergo a considerable modification before it can be accepted as an adequate expression of that important analogy. It cannot be taken as convertible with the second and subordinate title of the volume, since the 'Moral Laws of the Universe' refer, not to the philosophy of religion, but to the religion of philosophy, taking the latter term in its common acceptance, and the former in an accommodated sense. The explanatory title would, in fact, have done better without its principal, since the work to which it is prefixed, is neither more nor less than, with some deduction on the score of wordiness and want of compression, an able and interesting 'illustration of the 'moral laws of the universe.'

'We have,' says Mr. Dick, 'an abundance of ponderous subjects on the subject of moral philosophy; but the different theories which have been proposed and discussed, and the metaphysical mode in which the subject has generally been treated, have seldom led to any beneficial practical results. To attempt to treat the subject of morals

without a reference to divine revelation, as most of our celebrated moral writers have done, seems to be little short of egregious trifling. It cannot serve the purpose of an *experiment* to ascertain how far the unassisted faculties of man can go in acquiring a knowledge of the foundation and the rules of moral action; for the prominent principles of Christian morality are so interwoven into the opinions, intercourse, and practices of modern civilized society, and so familiar to the mind of every man who has been educated in a Christian land, that it is impossible to eradicate the idea of them from the mind, when it attempts to trace the duty of man solely on the principles of reason. When the true principles of morality are once communicated through the medium of revelation, reason can demonstrate their utility and their conformity to the character of God, to the order of the universe, and to the relations which subsist among intelligent agents. But we are by no means in a situation to determine whether they could ever have been discovered by the investigations and efforts of the unassisted powers of the human mind. The only persons who could fairly try such an experiment were the Greeks and Romans, and other civilized nations, in ancient times, to whom the light of revelation was not imparted. And what was the result of all their researches on this most important of all subjects? What were the practical effects of all the fine-spun theories and subtle speculations which originated in the schools of ancient philosophy, under the tuition of Plato and Socrates, of Aristotle and Zeno? The result is recorded in the annals of history, and in the writings of the apostles. They became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish hearts were darkened. "They were filled with all unrighteousness, fornications, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness, envy, murder, deceit, malignity; they were backbiters, haters of God, spiteful, proud, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without natural affection, implacable, and unmerciful." Their general conduct was characterised by pride, lasciviousness, and revenge; they indulged in the commission of unnatural crimes; they were actuated by restless ambition, and they gloried in covering the earth with devastation and carnage.'

These observations, at once spirited and just, contain a general intimation of the nature of the work to which they belong, and which, independently of its formal division, which seems to us rather confused, consists mainly of an investigation of the two 'fundamental principles of Morality'—'Love to God 'the Creator, and, Love to fellow intelligences;' followed by illustrations of the Moral Law, and of 'the rational grounds 'on which its precepts are founded.' The fourth and last chapter contains 'a cursory survey of the moral state of the 'world.' Our readers will perceive that this arrangement, whatever may be thought of its technical accuracy, affords opportunity for much interesting and important discussion. Mr. Dick has engaged in a course of extensive reading with reference to his subject, and has levied contributions in all direc-

tions with discrimination and effect. He has, indeed, spared no pains to make his work both valuable and popular, and as far as our recommendation may serve him, we give it cordially. As a specimen of the manner in which he employs natural phenomena in aid of his reasoning, we shall cite the following paragraph.

‘Not only the elements which immediately surround us, but even celestial bodies which are just now invisible to our sight, and removed to the distance of a thousand millions of miles, might be employed as ministers of vengeance. There are, at least, a hundred *comets* connected with the solar system, which are moving in all directions, and crossing the orbits of the earth and the other planets. Were the orbit of one of these bodies, in its approach to the sun, to be bent in a direction to that of the earth, the most alarming phenomena would be exhibited in the heavens. A ruddy globe, larger in appearance than the moon, would first announce terror to the inhabitants of the earth—every day this terrific object would increase in size, till it appeared to fill the celestial hemisphere with its tremendous disk;—the light of the sun would be eclipsed—the stars would disappear—the ocean would be thrown into violent agitation, and toss its billows to the clouds—the earth would “reel to and fro like a drunkard”—and universal alarm and confusion would seize upon all the tribes of the living world. At length, this tremendous orb would approach with accelerated velocity, and, striking the earth.....would shiver the globe into fragments, and for ever exterminate the race of man.’

The historical and scientific illustrations which are profusely scattered throughout the volume, add much to its interest. A neat portrait of Lord Bacon is prefixed.

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- Art. XI. 1. *William Tell*, a Drama, translated from the German of Frederick Schiller. Small 8vo. pp. 189. Price 6s. London. 1825.
2. *Molech, or the Approach of the Deluge*: a sacred Drama. By the Rev. William Bassett, M.A. 8vo. pp. 161. London. 1826.
3. *Babington*. A Tragedy. By T. Doubleday. 8vo. pp. 140. Edinburgh. 1825.

THE secret of tragic composition seems in danger of being lost. Our old writers possessed it entire, and used it to admiration. Their plots, though sometimes wild and incoherent, were so framed as to produce situations of the most thrilling interest. Their language, with the strength and simplicity of common usage for its warp, was woven with the richest dyes of poesy, and made the dress and ornament of intense feeling. When we take up their productions, we seem to have passed into a region of thought and intellect of an order altogether

more elevated than that which now prevails; and we deeply lament the grossness which so far deteriorates their high qualities, as to exclude a large portion of our wealthiest literature from the staple of safe and recommendable reading. Still they must, to a certain extent, be studied by all who are anxious to ascertain the finest characteristics of English style, or the complete range of English genius; and it is much to be wished, that such a selection were made as should enable us to enjoy the charm, uncontaminated by the pollution. Charles Lamb's *Specimens* make a delightful volume, but they do not exactly meet our notions; and we are inclined to think that a different principle of selection would have proved at once more effective and more popular.

Admirers as we are of the old English school, it almost follows that we should have a thorough dislike to that which is its complete opposite, French tragedy, with all its varieties and derivatives. It is, as it appears to us, thoroughly defective in the genuine sources of dramatic interest. Character is upon stilts, and exhibits none of those bolder lines and deep discriminations which mark our own choice spirits. There is more intense feeling in one scene of Ford's, than all the pocket-handkerchief pathos of the French theatre can furnish forth. Their *grand Corneille* was a buskined rhetorician and his heroes and heroines try conclusions as glibly and as snappishly as advocates at bar. Racine was a first-rate versifier, and an excellent scenist. Voltaire did best when he stole inspiration at second-hand from Shakspeare.

Mr. Doubleday has evidently gone to our ancient drama for his models, and he has been successful in catching somewhat of the spirit as well as of the manner of the olden time. His subject is well chosen. Conspiracy has always been a favourite subject with the dramatist; and the wild schemes and romantic aims of Babington, in the days of Elizabeth, give opportunity for powerful interest, strong shadowing, and various character. He has chiefly failed, we think, in distinctness and development. We can hardly tell what the plot is about; and the meeting of conspirators, which should have been the key of motive, the centre of detail, and the mainspring of action, is indefinite and ineffective. The characters of Gifford, Ballard, and Babington are sketched with spirit, but they are only sketched; they require, especially the latter, to be fairly brought out. There was a fair opportunity, in the person and circumstances of the hero, for the exhibition of passionate love, despairing of its object, yet, venturing life and honour in its cause; but of this there is little or nothing. The Jesuit, with his mysterious agencies, might have been made more of. But Agnes makes

up for all. Her gentle nature, her devoted, though unrequited affection, her resolute attendance on Babington throughout the bloody horrors of his execution, the last scene with Ballard, when she preserves her honour by plunging a dagger in the breast of that traitor, all are excellently conceived and powerfully wrought up. We shall give, by way of specimen, part of Babington's speech to the conspirators.

' Wherefore we meet is known unto you all ;  
 A general wrong needs no interpreter.  
 Have we not seen the ruin that hath roll'd  
 O'er our dear country ; pestilent heresy  
 Flame like a brand cast in the autumn corn,  
 Till all the goodly harvest is burnt up ;  
 Holy Religion turn'd to Robbery !  
 Her sacred shrines unroof'd, and made the haunts  
 Of th' unclean fox and owl ; penance-worn Age  
 Chased forth to die beside some by-path ditch ;  
 And stainless Innocence turn'd loose to shiver,  
 And starve i' th' causeway.....  
 Beauty oppressed, because she is not false ;  
 Goodness proscribed, because it will not change ?  
 And who have done these things ? Not savage Goths,  
 Who conquer only that themselves are strong,  
 Who know not light, because themselves are dark ;  
 But the wolf Lucre, vested like the lamb ;  
 And bat-like Sophistry, whose filmed eyes  
 Find day in twilight, and whose leathern wings  
 Flit ever round the ruins that it loves ;  
 Amphibious, miscreate ; loathsome alike  
 To those who crawl, as well as those who soar.  
 Is this not so ? If then, or blood will quench  
 This fiery pestilence, or fire burn out  
 The hideous reptiles that infest our fields,  
 Why should we pause or start ? If that your veins  
 Have ta'en a feverous, or an aguish taint,  
 Do ye not lance them ? If a rabid tooth  
 Hath torn ye, sear ye not the wound ? My friends,  
 Which of us here shall not do for his country,  
 What for himself he doth ?'

Mr. Doubleday should subject both his thoughts and his words to severe revision. There are several instances of awkward phrase, involved meaning, and missed metaphor.

Respecting 'Molech,' we are sorry that we cannot venture beyond faint praise. The intention is excellent, but it halts in the execution. Our readers may form their own judgement from the following lines.

Act 1. Scene 1. *The House of Avel.*

AVEL and STEWARD.

Avel. Thus is another son of God removed  
From the accursed sin-polluted earth :  
And now, except the old Methuselah,  
With righteous Noah and his three sons and wife,  
And me and mine, the sacred line of Seth  
Is quite extinct by death ; or, which is worse,  
Drawn by the torrent of iniquity,  
Is lost in the posterity of Cain  
And th' other sons of Adam, who with him  
Forsook Jehovah's altar and his fear.  
I said extinct ! Not so. The dying saint  
Has left three daughters to my anxious care.  
How few the servants of the most high God,  
Compared with the increasing myriads  
Of sinful man's corrupted progeny !  
The heart is troubled and the faith perplexed  
In contemplation of this state of things !  
Sin stalks abroad, o'erleaping former bounds ;  
Devising crimes till these last days unknown.  
The wicked prosper ; plenteous harvests bless  
Their most unhallowed labours ; rains descend  
Amidst their curses on the thirsty fields ;  
And sunshine ripens, though no sacrifice  
Ascends with its sweet savour to the skies.  
They murder God's own image, and they make  
No inquisition ; though the secret voice  
Of blood poured out cries unto him for help.  
They violate, oppress, and yet they build,  
And plant, and multiply. The holy law  
Of marriage, given in Eden, they corrupt  
To vilest purposes : their lewd hearts invent  
Offences most unnatural, at which  
Cain would have trembled. Yet no lightnings strike ;  
No earthquakes shake their cities ; they increase  
And prosper in proportion to their sin :  
While we, the sons of God, born of a race  
Of faithful and of righteous men, are worn  
To a poor scattered remnant ; and but now  
I had almost despaired. It seemed to me  
That God had ceased to punish, ceased to save ;  
That the vile sons of men were left to rule  
With the corrupting serpent dominant ;  
While we, the sons of God, were left to die,  
And perish unassisted from the earth.' pp. 1—3.

Of Schiller's singular tragedy, the 'William Tell,' we must write either a great deal, or very little. The first part of the alternative is not exactly suited to our leisure, or to the nature

of the present article. It would be necessary to enter into something like a review of the whole German drama, and especially of the works of Schiller. On this we could not venture without reference to the originals, and these are not within our present reach. We can only say, that it combines nearly all kinds of composition, historical, political, dramatic, lyrical, romantic, and descriptive. The scenery is described with a minuteness which shews how much the Author depended upon it for his effect. Simplicity and artifice are strangely mingled in its composition. The gossip of the villagers, the introduction of a bridal procession, the *ranz des vaches*, the tinkling of the cow-bell, all have more or less to do with the progress or the interest of the drama. The list of *dram. pers.* is amazingly long and minute; and the names which it exhibits, are some of the most illustrious in the annals of the world. Manners, history, scenery, every thing seems minutely accurate; and in these respects, we have been strongly reminded by the present work of Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen*. Yet, with all this, and much of it executed with consummate talent, we cannot feel that the dramatic character is adequately sustained. There is too much minuteness of marginal direction, not to induce a suspicion that the dialogue is greatly indebted to its adjuncts; and we should much like to have it in hand without those intrusive circumstantialities. As a specimen of this kind of management, we shall transcribe what may be called the Induction to the grand scene where the men of Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwalden meet in the memorable field of Rutli, to arrange their insurrection.

‘ *Scene 2. A meadow, surrounded with rocks and woods. Upon the rocks are ladders and steps, by which the peasants, as they arrive, are seen descending. In the back ground appears the lake, over which, at times, is observed a rainbow, formed by the reflection of the moon. The view is closed by lofty mountains, and behind them still higher ones, covered with snow. The lake and the white glaciers are gleaming in the moonlight.*

‘ *Enter Melchtal, Baumgarten, Winkelried, Meier von Sarnen, Burkhardt am Buhel, Arnold von Sewa, Klaus von der Flue, and four others, all armed.*

‘ *Melchtal, (still behind the Scenes.) The mountain-pass opens—follow me, quick!*

*I know the little cross which crowns that rock:  
We’ve reached the goal—we are at Rutli.*

‘ *Winkelried.*

*Hark!*

‘ *Sewa.*

*It is quite empty.*

‘ *Meier.*

*None arriv’d! We are  
The first upon the ground—we Unterwaldners.*

- ‘ *Melchtal.* How goes the night?  
‘ *Baumgarten.* The watch has just cried two  
Upon the Selisberg. (*A sound of bells in the distance.*)  
‘ *Meier.* Be still and listen!  
‘ *Am Buhel.* The matin-bell of the lone forest-chapel  
Sounds sweetly over from the shore of Schwitz.  
‘ *Von der Flue.* The air is clear, and bears the sound so far.  
‘ *Melchtal.* Go some, and gather wood, that we may have  
A cheerful fire, when our companions come.  
(*Two peasants go out.*)  
‘ *Sewa.* It is a lovely night! The tranquil lake  
Lies like a polished mirror.  
‘ *Am Buhel.* They will have  
An easy passage over.  
‘ *Winkelried,* (*pointing to the lake.*) Ah! see there!  
See you nought yonder?  
‘ *Meier.* Yes, indeed! ’Tis strange!  
A rainbow in the middle of the night!  
‘ *Melchtal.* ’Tis formed by the reflection of the moon.  
‘ *Von der Flue.* It is a wondrous sign, and seldom known;  
Many have lived who ne’er have seen the like.  
‘ *Sewa.* Look! now ’tis doubled! There’s a paler one.  
‘ *Baumgarten.* What boat is that, which glides so smoothly yonder?  
‘ *Melchtal.* It is the bark of Stauffacher: the brave man  
Makes not his comrades wait.  
(*Goes with Baumgarten to the shore.*)  
‘ *Meier.* The men of Uri  
Are slowest to arrive.  
‘ *Am Buhel.* A tedious circuit  
Are they compell’d to travel through the mountains,  
To elude their Bailiff’s vigilant suspicion.  
(*Two peasants light a fire.*)  
‘ *Melchtal,* (*on the shore.*) Who goes there? Give the word!  
‘ *Stauffacher,* (*from below.*) Friends of the land!  
(*All advance to meet the new comers.*)  
‘ *From the boat ascend* Stauffacher, Reding, Hans auf der Mauer,  
Jorg im Hofe, Conrad Hunn, Ulrich the smith, Jost von Weiler, and  
*three other peasants, all armed.*

All this forms a natural and pleasing interlude that both relieves and aids the main action; but we have our doubts, whether it could be properly introduced in any other than a drama half historical, half romantic. Every one of the more interesting portions of the drama,—the scene in the market-place where Tell strikes the apple,—the death of Gesler, and others of the same kind,—is opened by some by-play of this sort.

The translation appears to be correctly executed, but it is deficient in spirit.

Art XII. *The Ordinance of the Lord's Supper illustrated* : with a View to explain its Nature, to point out its practical Influence, and to establish its Obligation. By William Orme. 12mo. pp. 302. Price 5s. London. 1826.

A WORK of this description was certainly a *desideratum*. 'It is somewhat extraordinary,' Mr. Orme remarks, 'that while, for many years, the press has teemed with publications of all sizes and of all degrees of merit on the subject of Baptism, scarcely any thing beyond an occasional sermon or pamphlet has appeared on the subject of the Lord's Supper.' This remark is correct, so far as regards Protestant Dissenting writers ; but the explanation is supplied by what Mr. Orme himself adds : 'it has been less the subject of controversy' among us. Whether it be '*better understood*,' we dare not give an opinion ; but we must venture to think, that if it be not, the pulpit is a little to blame. Still, there are points to which it would not be proper to advert in an ordinary discourse ; there are critical and historical inquiries connected with the subject, which cannot be gone into by the preacher, and respecting which it becomes every Christian to obtain some general information. And the recent publication of Mr. Gurney on the peculiarities of Quakerism might seem to present an additional reason for a work which should, in a concise and popular form, exhibit the nature and the obligation of the ordinance, with regard to which, the quaker *practice* has, we fear, been extensively gaining ground, although the tenets of Friends may not be pleaded in defence of its non-observance. In other words, numbers in our Dissenting congregations, without differing in practice from those who reject this sacrament, are only less consistent.

The Contents of this volume are arranged under the following heads, to each of which a chapter is devoted : Observations on the Passover. Institution and first Observance of the Lord's Supper. Names descriptive of the Ordinance. The Ordinance considered as an act of religious worship. The Ordinance considered as symbolical and commemorative. The Fellowship enjoyed in the Ordinance. The Ordinance considered as the Testimony of the Church to the World. The perpetual and universal Obligation of the Ordinance. The Sabbatical Observance of the Ordinance. Difficulties and Mistakes which occasion the Neglect of the Ordinance. Changes undergone by the Ordinance. Each of these points is handled by Mr. Orme in a very calm, luminous, and satisfactory manner. The information which he has collected shews extensive reading, while there is no parade of learned autho-

rities. The work is evidently the result of mature thought and patient research, and deserves to rank very high among modern theological publications.

We have been particularly pleased with the fifth chapter, in which Mr. Orme treats of the ordinance considered as an act of religious worship. The Author describes it as, specifically, 'a solemn act of worship in reference to Christ himself, and a peculiar method of presenting ourselves before the Father through him.' In support of the first of these views, he remarks :

'It is at the Lord's table we sit; it is the Lord's body which is broken; it is the cup of the Lord which we drink, and the death of the Lord we shew forth. According to the Apostle's argument in 1 Cor. x. 14—21., those who ate of the sacrifices under the law, were partakers with the altar, or in the worship offered at the altar; and those who partook of meats offered to idols, were held guilty of idolatry: to sit at the table of a demon, and to drink of his cup, was doing him religious homage. So, sitting at Christ's table, and partaking of his provision, must be the most solemn acknowledgment of his divinity. There seems no force in the Apostle's reasoning, if this is not admitted.'

But while, in the observance of this sacred rite, the Christian worships his Lord and Saviour, Mr. Orme contends, that he also 'presents as a memorial before God, the great sacrifice for sin, which is the sole ground of his acceptance and hope.'

'Without at present interfering with the institution as designed to keep us in remembrance of Christ, or meaning to insinuate that this is not a part of the meaning of the expression, "Do this in remembrance of me;" I have no hesitation in saying, with the learned Joseph Mede, "This commemoration is to be made to God the Father, and is not a bare remembering or putting ourselves in mind only, (as is commonly supposed,) but a putting of God in mind. By this sacred rite of bread and wine, we represent and inculcate his blessed passion to his Father; we put him in mind thereof, by setting the monuments thereof before him; we testify our own mindfulness of it unto his sacred majesty; that so he would for his sake, according to the tenour of his covenant in him, be favourable and propitious to us miserable sinners.'

This language, Mr. Orme is aware, is likely to startle many of his readers, on account of its seeming to favour the sentiment for which Mede in fact contends; viz. 'that the eucharist is a proper sacrifice.' A memorial, however, is not necessarily of a piacular nature. The ordinance is admitted to be commemorative of a sacrifice, and it is the sign and 'monument' of that One Divine offering that we therein present as a memorial before God. The dread of symbolizing with the

idolatrous tenets of the Romish Church, may have led us to overlook in some measure the view of the ordinance which the Papists have darkened and perverted. Their error lies in materializing all that is spiritual in worship; in taking away from the believer that character of priesthood which attaches in common to all regenerated persons, and by virtue of which they present their own bodies a living sacrifice and offer spiritual offerings to God,—by virtue, too, of which they are partakers at this altar,—and in translating this figurative language into the literal and palpable offering of a material substance by the hands of a Levitical order, of which the Church of Christ, at least the New Testament, knows nothing.

It deserves to be remarked, that this view of the ordinance corresponds to the nature of the Passover, with which it is often compared. That institution was not of a peculiar nature, although it is termed a sacrifice. 'No priest,' as Mr. Orme remarks, 'interposed his offices in the paschal service; no blood was presented before God, and no part of the Lamb was burned upon the altar.' But, 'as the animal was slain by Divine appointment, and eaten before the Lord,' it partook of a sacrificial service, although there seems to have been in it nothing of the nature of an atonement. It was commemorative, not propitiatory. It was a eucharist; and thus the Apostle follows up the allusion contained in those words, "Even Christ our passover was slain for us," by adding, "Let us keep the feast."—If any thing of the nature of a propitiation was originally attached to the Passover, it must have been confined to the occasion on which it was first observed, when it was the appointed means of averting the sword of the destroying angel: in this, its end as an atonement (if as such it can be considered) terminated. And from that time, its celebration of necessity became the mere memorial of a deliverance, and of the sacrifice which averted it. Thus, the Christian passover is a feast commemorative of a greater deliverance, and of a true and proper sacrifice. Speaking of it in this light, Mr. Orme remarks:

'The Apostle, in the following verses (1 Cor. x. 18, &c.), goes on to illustrate the fellowship of believers with God and one another by the sacrifices under the law, part of which, in certain circumstances, was presented to God on the altar and consumed by him, and part was eaten by the priests and the people. The same was true of idolatrous sacrifices; a portion belonged to the idol, and a portion was eaten by the priests and the people, all parties having thus fellowship together.

'The bread and wine are not offered to God on the altar; they merely *represent the sacrifice which has been offered*, and in which God has testified his good pleasure. Our eating and drinking the memorials of this sacrifice, indicate and express our participation with God in the high satisfaction enjoyed by him in the glorious work of the Redeemer. That work has brought the highest glory to the Father,

who is therefore represented as smelling a sweet savour of rest in its reposing upon it as the chief of all his undertakings, and the brightest display of the moral perfections of his nature. We participate in these views and feelings, when we enter into the spiritual meaning of the ordinance of the supper. We rejoice in that which satisfies the mind of God, and on which he dwells with ineffable delight. The sacrifice of Christ is the food and life of our souls, that which constitutes our chief blessedness here, and which we believe will be our delight through eternity.'.....

'It is very obvious from the nature of the service, that the partakers have fellowship with one another, as well as in a common benefit. All eat of one bread, and drink of one cup, and surround the same board, to shew that they are friends, connected in heart, sentiment, interest, and pursuit. Eating and drinking is among all nations an emblem of friendship. In the East, this kind of fellowship is held exceedingly sacred. It is the pledge of friendship, as well as its expression. Hence, enmity and treachery to those with whom we may have enjoyed it, are regarded as most hateful. This partly occasioned the poignant grief of the Redeemer: "He that ate bread with me, lifted up his heel against me."'

Towards the close of this chapter, the subject of which is 'the fellowship enjoyed in the ordinance,' Mr. Orme adverts, too slightly we think, to a subject of some delicacy, by way of inference from these views of the institution.

'It seems very evident, that the Lord's Supper is not an act between an administrator and a receiver; it is a social ordinance, a religious feast, in which all are partakers of common blessings, and for which they in common give thanks to God. No instance exists in Scripture of its being administered privately to an individual; indeed, the very phrase is foreign from the phraseology of the New Testament. It was never attended to at first, except by a church or public body of Christians assembled for religious purposes. The exercises of a feast are not compatible with the dying chamber or the last struggles of expiring nature. That it may have comforted many a Christian in such circumstances, we doubt not; but the tendency of the practice to deceive, is too obvious to need illustration. If it has constituted a *viaticum* to some, it has been the last opiate to many, from the effects of which they have never awoke in this world. When we depart from the Scriptures, there may be a "shew of wisdom" in what we do; but, in the things of God, human wisdom will be found no better than folly. There must be great difference between the feelings of a Christian, receiving, as an individual, from the hands of an administrator, the emblems of the Saviour's love; and feeling himself as part of the family of God, surrounding the common table, and sharing with his brethren and sisters the provision of his Father's house. There may be fellowship with God in the one case, but there is certainly little of communion with men.'

From the general sentiment which is here expressed, we do not dissent; but Mr. Orme must, we think, be aware, on reflection, that he has in some degree blinked the question, how

far the private administration of the ordinance, or its administration in private houses, is justifiable or expedient. It is by no means necessary that, in such cases, its character as a *social* ordinance should be lost sight of. Even the Church of England practice requires that some person besides the administrator and the receiver be present, but it adopts the maxim (we think of Tertullian), *ubi tres, ecclesia*. 'That the exercises of a feast are not compatible with the dying chamber,' is a position that cannot be subscribed to when the nature of the feast is properly considered. What was the upper room in which the feast was first instituted, but the dying chamber of our Lord? With intense desire he desired to eat that passover before he suffered; and when he delivered to them the cup, it was accompanied with the declaration, that he would not drink thenceforth of the fruit of the vine till the day when he should drink it new in the kingdom of the Father. Now what is there unnatural in the Christian's desiring to celebrate the Christian passover, even in his dying chamber, under the probability that his next act of fellowship will be with 'the saints above?' What is there incongruous in his 'presenting as a memorial before God 'the great sacrifice of sin,' as exhibited in this ordinance,—that sacrifice 'which is the sole ground of his acceptance and hope,'—even in 'the last struggles of expiring nature?' Why may not the receiver, even in this private or domestic act, feel himself part of the family of God?

No valid argument can be founded on the abuse of the ordinance which consists in its being administered to improper persons, inasmuch as its public celebration is not less open, in such cases, to the same objection. Thousands attach to what is called 'taking the sacrament' at church, the idea of a meritorious and propitiatory service. If, in the dying chamber, it has proved a fatal opiate, (which there is too much reason to fear, is often the case,) this must have arisen, not from the circumstance of its being privately administered, but from its being indiscriminately administered, if not unfaithfully prostituted. The tendency of *such* a practice is obvious; but Mr. Orme has not shewn, that any departure from the Scriptures, or any pernicious effect, is involved in the private celebration of an ordinance,—adapted, as he admits, to comfort many a Christian when debarred from attendance in the house of God. At the same time, we quite agree with Mr. Orme in his views of the Sabbatical observance of the ordinance, and admit that its *ordinary* administration properly connects it with social worship.

The thanks of the religious public are due to Mr. Orme for this volume, which we earnestly commend to the attentive perusal of our readers.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE had intended to abstain from all further reference to 'the Apocrypha Controversy;' but seven or eight pamphlets have since appeared, of which some brief notice shall be taken in our next.